

H. eccl.

454h - 3



BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS.

A
SUMMARY
OF
THE HISTORY
OF
THE ENGLISH CHURCH,
AND OF
THE SECTS
WHICH HAVE DEPARTED FROM ITS COMMUNION;
WITH
ANSWERS TO EACH DISSENTING BODY
RELATIVE TO ITS PRETENDED GROUNDS OF SEPARATION.

BY JOHNSON GRANT, M.A.
OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

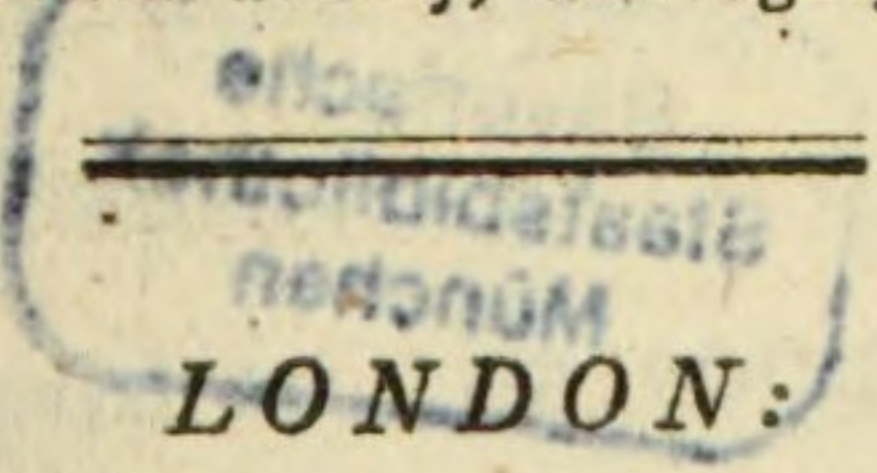
VOL. III.

CARRYING DOWN THE NARRATIVE TO THE
YEAR 1800;

AND INTRODUCING DISCUSSIONS OF
THE PRINCIPLES HELD BY PRESBYTERIANS, ARIANS,
MORAVIANS, HUTHINSONIANS, SWEDENBORGIANs,
METHODISTS, AND SOCINIANS.

"It is not St. Augustine's, or St. Ambrose's works, that will make so wise
a divine, as ecclesiastical history, thoroughly read and observed."

LORD BACON.


LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. HATCHARD AND SON,
187, OPPOSITE ALBANY, PICCADILLY.

1820.

SUMMARY

THE HISTORY

THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH

THE SECTS

WHICH HAVE DEPARTED FROM ITS COMMUNION

WITH

ANSWERS TO EACH DEPARTING BODY

RELATIVE TO ITS POSITION AND MODES OF SEPARATION

BY JOHNSON GILBERT, M.A.

OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

VOL. II.

CARRYING DOWN THE NARRATIVE TO THE

YEAR 1800

AND INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF

THE PRINCIPLES LED BY PRESBYTERIAN, ANGLICAN,

NORWICH, BAPTIST, METHODIST, AND OTHER

METHODIST, AND OTHER

PRINTED FOR J. HATCHARD AND SON,

11, N. B. ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON.

1830

1830



PRINTED FOR J. HATCHARD AND SON,

11, N. B. ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON.

Printed by S. Gosnell, Little Queen Street, London.

1830

PREFACE.

THE various testimonies of approbation with which the two preceding Volumes of this Ecclesiastical History have been received, were, I confess, sufficiently flattering to have stimulated my diligence to a less lingering execution of the remainder. My reasons for delay need not now be assigned: let it suffice to state, as one advantage resulting from the suspended labour, that, on being resumed, it wore the freshness of novelty, and allured the writer to alertness in investigation.

But while I seem thus to boast of compliments addressed to me, I must not conceal a complaint with which they have been mingled, that the dignity and utility of this History have sustained considerable injury, by my detailed notice of the Joannite sect, who might have been left to expire in the socket of their own fatuity.

Though willing to bow before the decision of public opinion, and prepared to curtail, in any new edition, my account of those maniacal congregations, I am by no means satisfied, that the sect was, or is, so extremely contemptible as has been represented. It will be remembered, that at the time when my second volume was published, the Joannites could boast of five crowded places of regular worship, in and near the metropolis; many intelligent, learned, and respectable patrons, and 20,000 sealed adherents in the North and West of England. Many sects have been held formidable, not less in a political than a religious view, both in this and in other countries, who never were able to muster the fourth part of such a force. Many sects, and many religious systems, whose ultimate influence became extensive, struggled in their cradle, against less favourable auspices. Mahomet, in twelve years, had hardly gained twelve disciples: nor had Methodism or Quakerism a much more propitious origin. Besides, it was never the leading object of this History, to consider sects only as politically formidable. It is their religious errors which are

the main objects of our concern. It is their religious opinions that our refutations strive to overcome. The commonalty are the people; and when errors, how absurd soever, are propagated and received among them, argument must be tried to restore the wholesome influence of truth. The complainants, too, enjoy the advantage of pronouncing their decision, after the death of the pretended prophetess, and the failure of her chief predictions, had proved the delusion or exposed the imposition; and thus made her adherents ashamed of the *public avowal* of a confidence so very grievously disappointed. But though these consummations of her ravings might have been easily and were foreseen, it was not so evident that the sect would have taken the turn of silence: nor is it certain that the imposture has in the minds of its 20,000 dupes, actually refuted itself. In fact, the adverse fortunes of this heresy may be traced to three causes, all of them contrary to the probabilities of any previous calculation. First, they possessed no preacher of combined fervour and abilities, who might embody their principles in glowing and ingenious oratory, and

entwine them with the passions of the enthusiastic, or adapt them to the reasoning intelligence of the considerate. They were a sect of wrongheads, rather than enthusiasts; and their preachers were mere drivellers. Nothing could be more contemptible, than the bungling, dull, prosing, vulgar, ungrammatical nonsense, uttered by Tozer and Turpin. Could they have boasted a Whitfield or a Wesley, an Elias Carpenter, a Rowland Hill, a Matthew Wilks, who should have possessed the sense or the cunning to have suppressed or softened the more revolting and blasphemous parts of the system; to have infused elegance, poetry, feeling, and fervour into the hymns; and to have brought the treasures of a glowing imagination and impassioned mind, to bear on the peaceful visions of a millennium, or the more beatific glories of the invisible world; in that case, neither the death of the prophetess, nor the failure of her predictions, would have checked the wildfire progress of the delusion. Had this sect even possessed the common prudence of avoiding the opening of chapels altogether, and confined themselves to the mysterious sealing; the sigil trade might, to this hour, have

brought great gain to the craftsmen, while the dupery would have spread itself far and wide, and silently mingled with the Establishment and every sect. But by bringing their blasphemies and fooleries to the test of preaching, and that preaching poor, low, tame, flat, and unattractive, they submitted them to an instructed populace, who must have some speciousness of reason, some warmth of feeling, to employ their understandings and excite their imaginations. The Joannites, in consequence, were unable to bear up, PUBLICLY, against universal derision.

A second cause of the failure of this sect, was want of sufficient opulence. Could they have enlisted thirty or forty Miss Townlys, instead of one, they might have erected splendid chapels at the several watering-places, provided them with able orators and delicious music, and bribed congregations, composed of a shoal of nominal churchmen and pseudo-dissenters, who will not serve God for nought, but are ready to lend conviction to the highest bidder. The woman clothed with the sun, was supported in a comfortable house; she had green

peas at a guinea a quart, and a coach at command to take airings in the Park ; but this, and the superb outfit for the promised birth, exhausted the coffers of the Joannites.

But the extinguished honours of these heretics are chiefly to be ascribed to their acknowledged want of artifice. They were an infatuated, but an honest people. They carried the last trial of their principles into the arena of full publicity ; and, their expectations being baffled, confessed that they had no more to say ; that they had no further claim on public attention. But had cunning presided over their counsels, had they removed the Pythoness latterly to the far-famed Delamere Forest, pronouncing that retirement to be the woman's flight into the wilderness ; and had they succeeded, as they might have easily done, in imposing a child upon the world, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which their delusion might have spread among the people. And since it was a fairer conjecture that they should have adopted this stratagem, than pursued the course of simplicity which ended in their shame, they were not, while they flourished, to be overlooked as

a despicable sect, nor ought their blasphemies to be left to refute themselves.

These remarks might vindicate my former exposure of the Joannite errors, even were it certain that the shutting up of their chapels had put a complete and final termination to this delusion. That this would not be the case, was plain from the beginning; and it is doubtful whether any single instance of recantation has taken place. The fact is, that the great body of this deluded people had been, several years before, disciples of the prophet Brothers; and transferred their allegiance and credulity from that maniac, on the failure of his predictions, to Joanna, half maniac and half cunning woman. And all of them still retain the same general principles, ready to shift their object to Madame Krudner, the American Jemima Wilkinson, or any other lunatic or impostor who may arise, and desire, if not to be clothed with the sun, at least to bask in the sunshine of comfortable idleness. Nay, the greater number actually consider the death of their leader, as no more than a temporary suspension of the faculties, and firmly believe in

her speedy return to the earth in surpassing power and splendour.

In 1818, on the fourth anniversary of her death, a company of an hundred and fifty of her adherents assembled on Primrose Hill, in full persuasion of her being at that time reanimated. They repaired to the burying-ground of St. John's Wood, and loudly demanded admittance; nor was it till a late hour that they were persuaded to disperse quietly to their several homes.

The pertinacity of this sect in their opinions, may be further evinced by reference to the newspapers of October 1817, where a singular narrative is given of the assembling of a vast number of these deluded people; and of a sacrifice and other mysteries celebrated on that occasion. Not having taken note of the precise paper or date, I am not able to transcribe the account. But the most palpable and disgraceful proof of the existence and the unsubdued hopes of this sect is to be found in the epitaph inscribed, (*proh pudor!*) on the tombstone of their spiritual mother; which, I am sorry to observe, much to the discredit of those who have per-

mitted such a blasphemous record to be engraven on stone in a Christian burying-ground, has found admission in the cemetery of St. John's Wood Chapel.

JOANNA SOUTHCOTE.

Rest, living wonder all thy days
To earth's and HEAVEN'S ENRAPTURED GAZE :
Though sages vainly think they know
Secrets which thou alone canst show ;
Yet God can tell, in what blest hour
Thou shalt return in GREATER POWER.

SABINÆUS.

The answers I have given to this sect in my Second Volume, are intended as standing replies to all future pretenders of the same description who shall arise.

I conceived that I had already said enough to obviate the charge of anachronism, which has been preferred against me, for having introduced facts relative to the present state of sects, under earlier reigns than that in which they occurred. In answer to this accusation, I now repeat, that the only way of exhibiting a fair view of the history and principles of any sect, in order to discuss its tenets, was to bring all the facts together at once, and to

consider my accounts of their proceedings and examination of their principles, as episodes, from which I should return to the main thread of the history. Had I taken up and laid down the several sects, reign after reign, the chief purpose of my work would have been utterly frustrated.

I have now, in this volume, completed my original undertaking; and if I were to consult my own mental ease, rather than probable utility, I should leave what remains to other hands and other times. For, great as I have found the difficulty of arrangement, that of speaking the whole truth, and of venturing unbiassed opinions, without respect to private friendship or fear of offence, in regard to the last twenty years of the reign of George III. will prove to me a difficulty much more embarrassing. To canvass measures of the present day, to speak freely and boldly concerning men among whom I live, and with whom, on both sides of disputed questions, I am in habits of strict intimacy, is a matter of extreme delicacy. It is, in truth, a dilemma of imperfection under which all history labours, that if it be written during the recorded

events, the writer is subject to unavoidable leanings and prejudices; and if delayed till the time of these mental warpings be past, the intelligence can only be gathered on the authority of biassed relaters. When the season of perfect candour arrives, that of strict authenticity is gone. I shall endeavour to discharge my task with as scrupulous a fidelity, as, under the circumstances alluded to, I can command. The remaining Chapter, with Indexes, Chronological Tables, and one or two useful Appendixes, will form a thin additional volume.

J. G.

15, St. James's Place, Hampstead Road,
21st March 1820.

events, the writer is subject to unavoidable
 leanings and prejudices; and it delayed till the
 time of these recent wrappings be past, the in-
 telligence can only be gathered on the authority
 of biased relations. When the season of perfect
 candour arrives, that of strict authenticity is
 gone. I shall endeavour to discharge my task
 with as scrupulous a fidelity, as, under the cir-
 cumstances alluded to, I can command. The
 remaining Chapter, with Indexes, Chronological
 Tables, and one or two useful Appendices, will
 form a thin additional volume.

J. G.

15, St. James's Place, Hampstead Road,

10th March 1850.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

- I. RESTORATION of Charles II.—II. Character of the Times.—III. Restoration of Episcopacy.—IV. Conference with the Presbyterians, and the King's moderate Declaration. — V. Conference at the Savoy, for new-modelling the Liturgy.—VI. Parliament. Burning of the Covenant.—VII. Corporation Act.—VIII. Convocation. Alterations in the Liturgy.—IX. Act of Uniformity: Remarks on the ejected Ministers.—X. Declaration in favour of Liberty of Conscience.—XI. Sheldon, Archbishop.—XII. The Clergy relinquish the Power of taxing themselves in Convocation.—XIII. Conventicle and similar Acts.—XIV. Plot attributed to the Catholics, and consequent Acts of Parliament.—XV. Other Causes of Odium against the Catholics. Plan for uniting the Church and Nonconformists. — XVI. Declaration in favour of granting Liberty towards the Dissenters, opposed by Parliament.—XVII. Test Act.—XVIII. Sancroft, Archbishop.—XIX. Duke of York sent beyond seas. — XX. Deaths of Russell and Sydney.—XXI. Death of Charles: and Character. — XXII. History of the Liturgy. — XXIII. Acts of Parliament. — XXIV. Learned Divines.—XXV. Miscellaneous Matters.—XXVI. Presbyterians: their History; and Examination of their Tenets. Page 1—63
-

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REIGN OF JAMES II.

- I. Contradictory Promises and Conduct of James.—
II. Remark on the Power of dispensing with the Test.

—III. The King courts the Dissenters, in order to favour the Catholics.—IV. Court of Ecclesiastical Commission.—V. Attempts to introduce Catholics into the Universities.—VI. The Nonconformists see the Designs, and reject the Protection of James.—VII. The Church Party call in the Interference of the Prince of Orange.—VIII. The Bishops are imprisoned for refusing to read the new Declaration of Indulgence.—IX. The Prince of Orange declines to sanction the Suspension of the Test.—X. Universal Odium against the King.—XI. His Abdication and Character.—XII. Acts of Parliament.—XIII. Learned Divines.—XIV. Miscellaneous Matters. Page 64—75

CHAPTER XV.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

I. Battle of the Boyne, and Reduction of the Irish Catholics.—II. State of Parties: Passive Obedience and Non-resistance.—III. Temper of the Bishops and Clergy in taking the Oath of Allegiance.—IV. Non-jurors: New Bishops: Tillotson, Primate: High and Low Church.—V. Bill of Comprehension and Synod for altering the Liturgy, both rendered abortive.—VI. Toleration Act.—VII. Arguments respecting Non-resistance.—VIII. Character of Tillotson: Tennison, Primate.—IX. Trial of Bishop Watson for Simony.—X. Burnet assailed by the Tories.—XI. Deaths of James II. and William.—XII. Acts of Parliament.—XIII. Learned Divines.—XIV. Miscellaneous Matters: Society for propagating Christianity in foreign Parts. Page 76—99

CHAPTER XVI.

THE REIGN OF ANNE.

I. State of religious Parties.—II. Convocation. The Lower House disavows Presbyterianism.—III. Bill

against occasional Conformity. — IV. Debate on the Question, Whether the Church was in Danger. — V. Trial of Dr. Sacheverell. — VI. Controversy between Atterbury and Hoadly. — VII. Convocation inquires into the State of Religion. — VIII. Whiston's Arian Work. — IX. Fleetwood's Preface burnt. — X. Queen Anne's Bounty. — XI. Fifty Churches built. — XII. State of Preaching. — XIII. Ireland and Scotland. — XIV. Acts of Parliament. — XV. Learned and pious Divines. Page 100—115

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE I.

I. Rebellion in favour of the Pretender. — II. Clarke's Book on the Trinity. — III. Bangorian Controversy: Nonjurors. — IV. Bill for Relief of Dissenters. — V. Plot against the Government: Atterbury. — VI. Profaneness: Hell-fire Club. — VII. Collins: answered by Bentley: Chubb. — VIII. Attempt to reconcile the English and Gallican Churches. — IX. Quakers released from Oath: Dissenters. — X. Learned Divines. — XI. Acts of Parliament. — XII. Whiston on Arianism: History of the Arians. — XIII. Statement and Refutation of their Principles. Page 116—166

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE II.

I. Tranquillity of the English Church. — II. Licentiousness of Manners: Drinking; Gaming; Dishonesty; the Drama; Novels. — III. Infidelity. — IV. Infidel Writers: Hobbes, Collins, Woolston, Tindal. — V. Hume, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke. — VI. Replies: Warburton, Leland, Lardner, Doddridge, Gibson, Sherlock, Secker, West, Lord Lyttelton. — VII. Differences among Churchmen: Warburton and Law; Middleton and Dodwell. — VIII. Society for Reformation of

Manners.—IX. Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts; and Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.—X. Raine's Hospital; Magdalene; Asylum.—XI. Acts of Parliament relating to Colleges; to Quakers, Jews, Marriages, &c.—XII. Learned Divines.—XIII. Learned Dissenters.—XIV. Methodists: History.—XV. Statement and Refutation of their Tenets.—XVI. Moravians.—XVII. Hutchinsonians.—XVIII. Swedenborgians. Page 167—308

CHAPTER XIX.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. TO THE YEAR 1800.

- I. Auspicious Termination of this History.—II. Proclamation for the Encouragement of Piety.—III. King's first Speech in Parliament to the same Effect.—IV. Policy with regard to the Catholics.—V. Archdeacon Blackburne's Works on Confessions of Faith.—VI. Association for Release from Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles.—VII. Reasons for the Rejection of the Petition to that Effect.—VIII. Unsuccessful Bill against dormant Claims of the Church.—IX. Bills relating to Subscription.—X. Socinians: Statement and Refutation of their Tenets.—XI. Indulgence to the Catholics in America and at Home.—XII. Similar Concessions made to Dissenters.—XIII. Alarm excited: Protestant Associations.—XIV. Lord G. Gordon's Mob.—XV. Infidel and immoral Writers: Chesterfield, Hume, Gibbon, Priestley.—XVI. Profanation of the Sabbath.—XVII. Sunday Schools: Mr. Raikes.—XVIII. Miss More and Blagdon Controversy.—XIX. Methodist Sunday Schools.—XX. Mrs. Trimmer and other Writers on Sabbath Education.—XXI. Episcopacy in America.—XXII. Corporation and Test Acts.—XXIII. New Proclamations respecting Piety and Morals.—XXIV. Slave Trade.—XXV. King's Illness and Recovery.—XXVI. Corporation and Test Acts.—XXVII. Lenity to Catholic Dissenters.—XXVIII. French Revolution: Exertions of the Clergy.—XXIX. Corporation and Test Acts.—

XXX. Heterogeneous Nature of the Dissenters.—
 XXXI. Price's Sermon, and Burke's Reflections.—
 XXXII. Paine's Rights of Man.—XXXIII. Riots
 in Birmingham: Expatriation of Dr. Priestley.—
 XXXIV. Attempts of the Unitarians.—XXXV.
 London Corresponding Society, and Second Part of
 the Rights of Man.—XXXVI. French Emigrants.—
 XXXVII. Paine's Age of Reason, and Bishop of
 Llandaff's Apology.—XXXVIII. Infidel Societies.
 —XXXIX. David Williams, and 'Theophilanthro-
 pism.—XL. Bishop of London's Lectures: Hannah
 More's Cheap Repository, and other Labours of Zeal.

Page 309—442

XXX. Heterogeneous Nature of the Disasters —
XXXI. Price's Sermon, and Burke's Reflections —
XXXII. Paine's Rights of Man — XXXIII. Riots
in Birmingham: Exposition of Dr. Priestley —
XXXIV. Attempts of the Unitarians — XXXV.
London Corresponding Society, and Second Part of
the Rights of Man — XXXVI. French Emigrants —
XXXVII. Paine's Age of Reason, and Bishop of
Landaff's Apology — XXXVIII. Indel Societies
— XXXIX. David Williams, and Theophilanthropy
— XL. Bishop of London's Lectures: Hannah
More's Cheap Repository, and other Labours of Zeal.
Page 309—412

HISTORY
OF THE
ENGLISH CHURCH AND SECTS.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

Contents.

- I. *Restoration of Charles II.*—II. *Character of the Times.*—III. *Restoration of Episcopacy.*—IV. *Conference with the Presbyterians, and the King's moderate Declaration.*—V. *Conference at the Savoy, for new-modelling the Liturgy.*—VI. *Parliament. Burning of the Covenant.*—VII. *Corporation Act.*—VIII. *Convocation. Alterations in the Liturgy.*—IX. *Act of Uniformity: Remarks on the ejected Ministers.*—X. *Declaration in favour of Liberty of Conscience.*—XI. *Sheldon, Archbishop.*—XII. *The Clergy relinquish the Power of taxing themselves in Convocation.*—XIII. *Conventicle and similar Acts.*—XIV. *Plot attributed to the Catholics, and consequent Acts of Parliament.*—XV. *Other Causes of Odium against the Catholics. Plan for uniting the Church and Noncon-*

formists.—XVI. Declaration in favour of granting Liberty towards the Dissenters, opposed by Parliament.—XVII. Test Act.—XVIII. Sancroft, Archbishop.—XIX. Duke of York sent beyond seas.—XX. Deaths of Russell and Sydney.—XXI. Death of Charles: and Character.—XXII. History of the Liturgy.—XXIII. Acts of Parliament.—XXIV. Learned Divines.—XXV. Miscellaneous Matters.—XXVI. Presbyterians: their History; and Examination of their Tenets.

I. **RICHARD** Cromwell was found deficient in those talents which might qualify him for holding the reins of government as Protector. Indolence, irresolution, and general incapacity, debased his constitutional good nature: and as the spark of ambition had not been transmitted from sire to son, he was well content to withdraw into a private station. At this juncture the restoration of Charles the Second needs only to be mentioned, for the sake of connecting the narrative. Monk, in effecting this measure, cajoled the Presbyterian parliament and party: whom a vain imagination, that the treaty of the Isle of Wight would be adhered to, persuaded to sanction it with their concurrence. These were at this time possessed of full power, in the church, the university, and the army; and were in vain warned by the Independents, now divided and broken by the

ambition of Fleetwood, against trusting their new allies *.

II. Beams of cheerfulness now burst through those clouds of austerity which had so long overshadowed the realm: but with the sunshine returned the wantonness of pleasure:—enthusiasm gave way to debauchery: and the English people were transformed, from severe religionists, or canting fanatics, into a nation of livers without God in the world. In this general profligacy, the royalists took the lead. Abhorring the morose deportment and scripture-quoting

* The whole Presbyterian body, however, were not the dupes of this deception. We have already stated that their leaders held a correspondence with the Protestant clergy in France, by which the way was opened for the monarch's accession to the throne. A letter of Baxter's has been preserved by his biographer, commenting on the sentiments of these foreign ministers; and the following extract will serve to show at once his prophetic sagacity, and highly commendable disinterestedness: "These divines knew nothing of the state of things in England. They pray for the success of my labours, while they are persuading me to put an end to these labours, by setting up the prelates who will silence me, and many hundreds more. They persuade me to that which will separate me from my flock; and then pray that I may be a blessing to them: yet I am for restoring the King, that when we are silenced, and our ministry is at an end, and some of us lie in prisons, we may there, and in that condition, have peace of conscience in the discharge of our duty, and the exercise of faith, patience, and charity in our sufferings." *Life*, p. 2, p. 216.

phraseology, which had characterized the republican party, they threw off all restraints of decency, and set at nought even rational religion. Charles himself, restored without limitation or control, and arriving from a licentious country, became the votary and patron of dissipation: and as a poisoned fountain transmits the bitterness of its waters to every stream and rivulet which it supplies, his example communicated its pernicious influence successively to the nobility, gentry, and common people. The character of the court is the character of the country at large: highly then does it ever behove a monarch, the arbiter of fashion, to keep in fashion pure religion and sound morality *!

III. The ordinances of the Long Parliament being all of them deemed utterly null for want of the royal confirmation, episcopacy was held to be still the established religion, and the Common Prayer Book the rule of worship sanctioned by the legislature. For this reason, without any formal act or proclamation, religious matters at once glided silently into their wonted channel.

* Although we cannot, with Neale, deem it a subject of high boasting, that a play had not been acted in England for twenty years, we will heartily join in deploring that profligacy which introduced obscene comedies, and a state of morals in which intoxicated clergymen were every week taken into custody by the watch.

The Liturgy, which, with high-strained, liberal panegyric, Mr. Hume terms "a decent service, and not without beauty," was restored in the chapel royal and other places; the ejected clergy once more took possession of their benefices; though, wherever the regular ex-incumbent was dead, the Presbyterian occupant was confirmed in his possession: the heads and fellows of colleges were in like manner reinstated: and thus was prepared the way for supplying the vacant dignities in cathedrals. As only nine bishops were remaining at the Restoration, an apprehension was entertained that the body might become extinct; and measures were therefore hastened for supplying the vacancies, though a difficulty in form presented itself, through the abolition of deans and chapters. Seven bishops were consecrated in Westminster Abbey, in December 1660; and four more in the January following: four or five sees being still kept open, for the chief Presbyterian divines, in encouragement and expectation of their conformity*.

IV. When the leading Presbyterians, Calamy,

* Juxon, now superannuated, was removed to Canterbury, Frewen to York, and Duppa to Winchester. The new consecrations were those of Sheldon, Henchman, and Morley, to London, Sarum, and Worcester.

In Scotland, likewise, Charles sought to abolish Presbyterianism; which, he used to observe, was not a religion fit for a gentleman.

Reynolds, Spurstow, Hall, Manton, and Case, had waited upon the King at Breda, and solicited indulgence in matters which they deemed unlawful or indifferent, he signified a desire of conceding various points, but referred them finally to the Parliament. And on being entreated to expunge some portions of the Liturgy from the devotions of his private chapel, he replied, that since he sought not the abridgment of their LIBERTY, he begged he might hear no more of their interference with *his**. Neither would he lend an ear to their remonstrance against the use of the surplice. But while he thus prudently avoided making promises which he could not perform, we cannot pass uncensured that act of odious hypocrisy, with which he attempted to deceive his visitors. When he knew them to be within hearing, he prayed aloud to heaven, rendering thanks that he was a covenanted king. The stratagem, it seems, succeeded; for Case lifted up his hands, and blessed God that they had a praying sovereign.

These men, excepting Hall, immediately on the restoration, were enrolled in the list of royal chaplains: a vain distinction, though intended to show a tolerant spirit: for, not more than four of them, and these only once, were permitted to preach at court. In the mean

* Neale, vol. ii. p. 552.

time, the Presbyterian leaders were not unanimous. Calamy, Reynolds, Ashe, Bates, and Manton, felt inclined to proceed still further in unison with the court; but Seaman, Jenkins, and others, thought that too many concessions had been made; and urged the propriety of retracting. Charles wished that indulgences should be extended to the Nonconformists, partly because they had been serviceable in restoring him to the throne, but principally because he hoped to protect and favour the Roman Catholics, under the shelter of a general toleration. That body having offered him £100,000, if he would abolish the penal statutes against them; he evinced his disposition to espouse their interests, by a clause in the declaration of Breda, wherein liberty was promised to tender consciences, and a general pardon offered, subject only to exceptions to be afterwards made in the Parliament*. But even the most enlightened and moderate Presbyterians were, on this head, influenced by illiberal sentiments; and have mainly to thank their own narrow policy for the subsequent withdrawing of the King's good-will towards their body. When Baxter deprecated, in the royal presence, the toleration of Papists and Socinians, Charles replied angrily, that the

* Kennet's Chron. p. 252.

Presbyterians were a monopolizing party, whose only aim was to set up themselves. This incipient disgust was encouraged by the bench of bishops, who deemed a church without unity in externals to be a solecism; while they regarded diocesan episcopacy as of vital importance, and preferred an open separation to an internal schism. A conference, however, was held at Sion College, with Calamy, Reynolds, and five other Presbyterian leaders, with a view to discover to what extent they would yield, or rather, to keep them in play for the present: and a declaration, drawn up by the episcopal, and amended by the Presbyterian party, was published in the name of the King as supreme head of the church. In this instrument a variety of wise regulations were proposed, for securing a learned and zealous body of ministers; for the appointment of suffragans in extensive dioceses; for the due administration of confirmation and the Lord's Supper; and for the correction of scandalous offences by representations of churchwardens, to be made to the rural deans: but as it was likewise projected that the Liturgy should be new-modelled by divines of both persuasions; that kneeling at the Sacrament, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the surplice in the reading-desk, the oath of canonical obedience, and subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, were all to be considered as optional,

and that Usher's wild scheme for healing the former differences, by a mixture of Presbyterian synods and mock episcopal presidencies, should, with some alterations, be revived*; we need not wonder that the declaration was never carried into effect, and that the entire scheme should prove abortive. Such will ever be the result of an idle endeavour to amalgamate substances having no affinity. An union like that projected could only have been accomplished on the basis of mutual lukewarmness; or of slumbering lukewarmness in the one party, and keen circumvention in the other. But general lukewarmness is a greater evil than schism; as a sound body having an amputated limb is preferable to an enfeebled constitution. And in the latter case, where the truth is held with culpable remissness, and error supported with warmth; whatever liberality may be boasted of on either side, the destruction of the indifferent contracting party is certain.

No doubt there were Gallios belonging to both parties; Presbyterians, who cared little what opinions prevailed, provided they enjoyed their benefices in tranquillity; and Episcopalians, who regarding religion only as an appendage to the state, and union as desirable at any price; secretly complimented themselves

* Baxter, p. 243.

on their liberal and moderate sentiments. Among these latter was originally numbered Lord Clarendon: but he speedily joined the bishops, though with similar worldly-minded views; that bench being found needful for promoting his ambitious desire of marrying his daughter to the Duke of York.

Reynolds, on the strength of the royal declaration, accepted the bishopric of Norwich. Calamy, however, refused the tender of that of Litchfield, till the declaration should pass into a law: until which ratification Manton, Bates, and Bowles likewise postponed their acceptance of proffered dignities.

Baxter alone*, wholly declined the see of Hereford, on scruples which no parliamentary enactment could disperse.

1661. V. Considerable moderation having been displayed on both sides in the assembly at Sion College, a hope was still entertained of new-modelling the Liturgy, so as to adapt it to the fancies of bodies so heterogeneous as the Episcopalian and Presbyterian divines. A second conference was accordingly held at the Savoy, at which a larger number of both these parties were present. Here the Nonconformists demanded an omission of all responses and similar divisions in the Litany; an abolition of

* Neale, vol. ii. p. 584. Collier. Fuller. Heylin.

saints' days; an introduction of extemporaneous prayer; a change as to several of the epistles and gospels, which, remaining in the old version, contained various errors; the lengthening of the collects; the ejection of the Apocrypha; a removal from the baptismal office, of the word regenerated, as applied to all baptized persons; and a similar rejection of the giving of thanks for brethren taken by God to himself, as embracing all alike who were interred; both these phrases being held incompatible with the Communion. They would have the Liturgy be more particular, and the Catechism more explicit. They consented to give up the Assembly's Catechism, for the Thirty-nine Articles somewhat altered; and they wound up their expectations with the old request, that the cross, ring, surplice, and kneeling at the Sacrament, should be left indifferent.

On the contrary the church commissioners maintained that Usher's scheme was at variance with his other writings; that bishops already performed ordination with the assistance of presbyters; that if ministers desired alterations in the devotional service, they might exercise their own gifts in the prayer preceding the sermon; that it was expedient to retain a certain number of holydays for the reasonable recreation of the labouring classes; that the surplice was a decent emblem of that purity which became the ministers of God; that its high antiquity

was shown by St. Chrysostom, in one of his homilies; and that it received a sanction from several passages in the Revelations (ch. iii. 4, 5). They affirmed that Christ himself kept the feast of dedication, a festival of human appointment; that the sign of the cross had been always used “in immortalis lavacro*”; that kneeling was an ancient and decent usage; and that the high antiquity of liturgies in the church is indisputable. To the demand that the answers of the people should be confined to “Amen,” they replied, that dissenters say more in their psalms and hymns; if then in poetry, why not in prose?—if in the psalms of Hopkins, why not in those of David?—and if in a psalter, why not in a litany? That Scripture contained all which is needful for salvation, they deemed no more an objection to the Apocrypha than to preaching. To read the communion service at the communion table, was maintained to be an ancient custom; and “let ancient customs be observed, unless reason demands their abolition,” was the golden rule of the Council of Nice.

They could see no real advantage in compromise and comprehension. What had the former alternate preaching of regular incumbents and puritanical lecturers ever effected, but the sowing of perpetual dissensions in

* Tertullian de Coron. and Minuc. Fel.

every parish; the aspersion of the characters and defeating of the usefulness of regular pastors; and a distraction of the people's minds with different winds of doctrine, till they knew not what to believe? In truth, it was certain, that whatever concessions might be made, so long as the love of novelty, the pride of argumentation, the passion for holding forth, and the zeal for proselytizing, continued to be principles in the human heart, no concession would ever abolish sects in religion; while the Church of England, by departing from her ancient practice, would only compromise her dignity, and forfeit her title to due reverence. Yet, since some fondly conceived that all parties, tired of dissension and disturbance, were now eager to coalesce; and that to concede the minor points of difference to the Presbyterian ministers, would afford them a plausible excuse for maintaining harmony without violating their principles; they would not object to a revision of the Liturgy, and would even give up the ceremonies, if any shadow of objection could be brought forward, on the score of their sinfulness or impropriety. Their antagonists, however, refused to accept this challenge, since admitting them to be neither sinful nor improper, they deemed it sufficient to show that a positive obligation should not be imposed, with respect to things indifferent. On this question, which was in fact the point at issue, as the par-

ties could come to no agreement, the conference, like the former, terminated in mutual dissatisfaction*.

* Some trifling alterations in the Prayer Book were, however, resolved on, which only served to evince how little fault was to be found with it. Thus, "because they promise them both by their sureties," was substituted in the Catechism for "yes, they promise them," &c. It were to be wished, that the emendators had rather directed their attention to the obscure meaning of this answer, arising from the different nouns to which 'they' and 'them' refer; and to other grammatical inaccuracies in the sentence, which destroy perspicuity and perplex the young mind. The whole answer ought to run thus: 'Because they promose both repentance and faith by their godfathers and godmothers: a promise which the infants themselves, when they come to age, are bound to perform.'

Collier's Records, p. 119. Calamy's Life of Baxter, p. 164.

To Baxter's minute quibbling, and retiring to metaphysical distinctions, the breaking off of this conference was chiefly owing. Even Neale allows him to have been too eager, and tenacious of his own opinions to a fault. Vol. ii. p. 666. K. Chron. p. 505. Among the church commissioners were Sheldon, Morley, Pearson, and Heylin: names of ecclesiastical celebrity. Tillotson, then a young man, was present as an auditor, introduced by the Presbyterian party. Neale highly extols him, as might be expected from such a partizan; yet this is the very Tillotson of whom Whitfield afterwards asserted, that he knew no more of Christianity than Mahomet.

The several forms of prayer for the 30th of January and 29th of May, with those to be used at sea, were at this period introduced: while apocryphal lessons were increased in number, though not allowed on Sundays.

Neale, vol. ii. Hist. of Nonconf. 1708.

Sheldon, in this conference, insisted that the malcontents should bring forward all their objections at once: "well know-

VI. The Parliament succeeding the Convention, contained not more than fifty members

ing," says Bishop Burnet, "that their number would excite a general outcry against the objectors, as persons never to be satisfied." But would they not appear more captious in starting objection after objection? The truth is, the church commissioners rested on the defensive; they were satisfied with the Liturgy as it stood: the Nonconformists had demanded the conference; and it was their part to state their scruples in the first instance. They represented as sinful eight several regulations relative to the devotional service; but their objections were frivolous, saving perhaps only one, which scrupled at the giving of thanks to God for having taken the soul of every buried person to himself; and at all men's being committed to the ground in sure and steadfast trust. Yet it is not for mole-eyed man to determine who sleeps, and who sleeps not, in trust: and the awful moment of dissolution ought surely to be, with survivors, a moment of charitable construction, however it may please the Almighty to deal with transgressors. The vain words of man bind not up the right hand of God. Baxter composed a new service, which he termed the reformed Liturgy, not to supersede the old one, but to leave the clergy an option between both. It was rejected, as going beyond the royal commission: but who does not see, that with the *optional* kneeling and surplice, this service would have been, in every parish, a badge and livery of dissension; arming father against son, and husband against wife; and as one party happened to be in greater strength, making the other and weaker an astonishment, and a hissing, a by-word, and a curse? Exquisite Christianity! A complaint had been made as to the unsettled use of the words, 'curate', 'priest,' and 'minister,' in the rubrics; accompanied by a proposal for using the latter term only on all occasions: but curate was stated to be the person having the cure of souls; and minister to be common to the two orders; while priest was necessarily prefixed to those parts of the service, which a

attached to the Presbyterian interests; so successfully had Lord Clarendon laboured to secure a great majority of royalists. The King declared in his speech that he valued himself upon keeping his word; but the Chancellor stimulated him to the suppression of those seditious preachers, who were in the habit of teaching the people, "that St. Paul, in bidding them stand in their liberty, commanded them to stand to their arms." The bishops were now restored to their seats in the House of Lords;

deacon could not perform. Rejection was also the deserved fate of the request for changing Sunday into the term Lord's day. It is the mere cant of scrupulosity to call in question an unscriptural name, which carries with it no heathenish associations. A single unbroken prayer, it had been urged, was highly preferable to an endless number of desultory collects, repeatedly informing God of his own attributes. Again: the form of the "Confession" was too general: too little stress was laid upon original sin; and some prayers were too presumptuous for frail creatures to offer. But the church commissioners replied, that a beautiful connexion may be traced throughout all the prayers in the Liturgy: that short collects serve to aid languid devotion, and finely imitate the ejaculatory forms of Scripture: that to recount the attributes of God was profitable for the supplicants; not to mention the example of David, who in the 136th Psalm magnified the divine mercy not less than twenty-six times; that the general scope of the Confession constituted its excellence, by including all cases of offence; while details were proper only for the closet; that original sin is acknowledged in many parts of the service; and that the Lord's prayer set the example of praying indefinitely for grace to perform the will of God, and to be delivered from all evil.

and their right of patronage, which had been seized by the Presbyterians, was restored. The covenant was directed to be burnt by the *common hangman*. Other acts of this parliament will be introduced in their proper place.

VII. *The Corporation Act* was now passed: which rendered it necessary that all candidates for any department of the civil magistracy, should abjure the covenant, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and, within one year after coming into office, receive the sacrament according to the rites of the English church. Although the insurrection of the fifth monarchy men had been publicly disavowed by the Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers, it afforded occasion to the Commons to bring in a bill, declaring the unlawfulness of taking arms against the king *on any account*. Thus were confirmed the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; and thus did the legislature err in stretching a sound political maxim to those extreme and extraordinary cases, which an indefinite outline should leave to provide for themselves.

VIII. It has been insinuated that the bishops, at the Savoy conference, only proposed to learn what the Presbyterians would demand, with a view to exclude them more effectually from the pale of the establishment*. With what

* Complete Hist. p. 252.

truth this charge is urged will be rendered apparent by referring to the proceedings of the subsequent CONVOCATION, in which six hundred alterations were introduced into the service-book; many of them expressly intended to satisfy the scruples of the Nonconformists. Such were, the orders that the lessons should be no longer sung; that the reading of the Apocrypha on Sundays should be abolished; that the explanation of kneeling at the sacrament, introduced in King Edward's Liturgy, and expunged from that of Elizabeth, should be restored; that many collects should be altered; that in the office for Christmas, the words, "this day," should be changed into, "at this time;" and that to the rubric, "none shall come to the communion until they have been confirmed," should be subjoined, "or be ready and desirous to be confirmed." With the same view, the rubric on confession and absolution in the Order for visiting the Sick, was altered; and in the Communion for the Sick, the minister was directed to deliver the sacrament, not to such as desired it, but to as many as he judged expedient: in the Burial service, the obnoxious words, "in sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life," were softened by introducing the article "the" before "resurrection;" and the phrase of "God's taking unto himself the

soul of our dear brother here departed," was qualified by a rubric of exclusion, directing that that service should not be read over persons unbaptized, excommunicated, or dying by their own hands. Other changes on this occasion introduced into the Liturgy are recorded under a different section. Let it suffice to remark, that the two anniversaries of the martyred and the restored Charles are worthy of being sacredly observed so long as it shall continue expedient to blend religion with loyalty, or to call to mind with horror the outrages of rebellion, and with gratitude the blessings of the English mixed government*.

IX. 1662. High church principles, now obtaining the ascendant, gave rise to *the Act of Uniformity*, prefixed to the Common Prayer Book. By this act (13 and 14 Charles II.) ministers, on taking possession of a benefice or lectureship, were enjoined to read the Thirty-nine Articles, with the morning and evening prayers; and to subscribe the declaration of con-

* In the new prayer for the Parliament, the epithet of "most religious king," as applied to Charles II. was, to say the least, injudicious; and gave occasion, says Bishop Burnet, to much indecent raillery. Yet, perhaps, in the Church prayers, by "the king," is only to be understood "the supreme magistrate in these realms," without reference to the private character of the reigning individual at the time.

formity to the Liturgy ; as well as that condemning transubstantiation and popery*.

In consequence of this bill, a large number of the clergy, though by no means two thousand, as was pretended, voluntarily suffered ejectment for their conscientious scruples†. Bishop Burnet takes occasion to deplore the severity, which drove these individuals to the necessity of forming separate congregations, and diverting men from the public worship offered in the church. This cant has been re-echoed by the pretenders to religious liberality ; in other words, by the equally indifferent to all religions, or by the professors of a designing one, down to the present time. But allowing full praise to the disinterestedness of the ejected ministers (for those who quit their possessions are certainly in earnest), an answer has already been given to all such expressions of sentimental compassion and indignation ; namely, it is far more conducive to the tranquillity of the church, that dissentients should be in open schism than in secret hostility. The cross, and ring, and surplice,

* Priests' orders were here declared to be a necessary qualification for holding a benefice or donative.

† Some, says Neale, persuaded their brethren to dissent : and having succeeded, complied themselves, and obtained the vacant livings. Vol. ii. This is probably one of his unfounded aspersions. About this time the name of Puritans was changed into that of Protestant Nonconformists, who were subdivided into Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers.

were nothing in themselves; but assumed much seriousness as the badges of an opposition in doctrinal sentiment. And however highly the ejected ministers may merit our esteem, for the sacrifice they made to conscience; the evil might not be shunned by the sanction of a mottled worship, incompatible with the preservation of charity. The Act of Uniformity was instigated or encouraged by the Independents and other sectaries, through jealousy of the indulgences manifested towards their Presbyterian brethren; and by the Catholics, with the view of disuniting the Protestants, not less than through hatred to the Presbyterians, their former oppressors. Still further to widen the breach, while the Presbyterian ministers refused subscription, these latter encouraged them in their obstinacy. Charles, it is said, was averse from this measure; but suffered himself to yield to the importunities of Lord Clarendon, and of the church party in the House of Commons*.

* Some of the ejected ministers made a distinction between lay and ministerial conformity; repairing sometimes to the parish churches, before or after the exercise of their ministry in private houses. This was the origin of occasional conformity, the example of which was set by Baxter, Bates, and Calamy.

Mr. Wilberforce has asserted that this ejectment was contrary to the King's declaration at Breda. But it has been ably replied by Archdeacon Daubeney, that the clear principles of

Under the Commonwealth, one fifth part of the revenues of each vacated benefice had been

justice require, that the parties who have suffered injury, should receive the earliest possible redress. Had these principles prevailed at the Restoration, the ejection of nonconformist ministers from the patrimony of the church, in favour of the episcopal clergy to whom the rightful possession belonged, must have been the immediate consequence of the re-establishment of the constitution. But so far was this from being the case, that two years were suffered to elapse, before any legal methods were taken to dispossess them. To the credit of the government, such respect was entertained for the spiritual characters and abilities of many of the then ministers, that all the means of argument and persuasion were employed to retain them in the church. And it was not till a determined perseverance in their prejudices against the form and government of the church, as it was then re-established, rendered hopeless all accommodation upon the subject, that their rejection was suffered finally to take place. So that, instead of saying "they were shamefully ejected from the church in 1666, in violation of the clear principles of justice," it should be said that these ministers ejected themselves, because they would not continue in the church upon any other condition, than that of its being fashioned after their own model.

Nor does the charge respecting the violation of the royal word, upon this occasion, appear to be strictly justified by facts. When a person does every thing that possibly can be done in his situation, towards the fulfilment of any promise, he ought not, in charity, to be made chargeable with its violation.

The King, in his declaration at Breda, promised liberty to tender consciences; and that no man should be disquieted or called in question for difference of opinion in matters of religion which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom: and

allowed to the ejected incumbent: but such indulgence was now refused to the Noncon-

that he would consent to such an act of parliament, as upon mature deliberation should be offered to him for the full granting of that indulgence. When the nonconformist divines afterwards waited on the King at the Hague, he told them that he referred the settling of all differences respecting religion, to the wisdom of Parliament; that the two Houses were the best judges what indulgence or toleration was necessary for the repose of the kingdom. The King, therefore, by concurring with his Parliament in this business, acted up to the full meaning of his declaration. But he did more than this. So disposed was he to do every thing to gratify the Nonconformists, that could be done consistent with the re-establishment of the episcopal church, that he even acted without his Parliament upon this occasion, by publishing, with the advice of his privy council only, a declaration of indulgence in their favour; which the pressing and repeated remonstrances of the Commons obliged him afterwards to recall. Though the King did, therefore, immediately on his restoration, promise, that nonconformist ministers should not be ejected from sequestered livings, where the episcopal incumbents were dead; in consequence of which many remained in quiet possession of preferments; yet this promise cannot be said to have been violated, because the Act of Uniformity, which passed two years afterwards, obliged those who still retained their prejudices against the form and government of the church, to retire out of it. And when it is considered upon what ground the act was brought forward; that it was judged necessary, in consequence of the nonconformist divines returning to their old seditious practice of inveighing against government, and taking advantage of their public office, to bring the minds of the people back to those fatal errors, which had already proved so destructive; the passing it may be considered, not so much

formists:—a blot in the measure, deserving the severest reprehension.

X. Although Charles, in the season of vigour and gaiety, betrayed a manifest indifference to all religions, he ever retained a secret preference for that Romish service, whose rites were, in point of splendour and dramatic entertainment, so well accommodated to his taste. His brother, the Duke of York, was a Catholic bigot; and gaining an ascendant over Charles by alleviating his load of business, confirmed his inclination towards Popery. Under pretext of mitigating the rigours of the Act of Uniformity, the brothers concerted a declaration in favour of liberty of conscience, that the Catholics might obtain a free exercise of their religion, and share a toleration of which the dissenters seemed the primary objects. Their design, however, escaped not the eye of Parliament, who, in a remonstrance issued the following year, opposed it as tending to encourage schism, and to injure the Protestant religion. The Commons, thus looking with an eye of jealousy on both the Papists and the sectaries, released the King from his declaration at Breda, which, they justly observed, had been guarded and qualified

a breach of promise on the part of the King, as an act of prudential provision for public peace on the part of the government.—Daubeney's Guide, p. 329, &c.

by promising indulgence subject to the approbation of Parliament. They affirmed that unlimited indulgence tended only to the multiplication of sects, and to the endangering of the Protestant succession, since some prevailing party might at length contend for an establishment; a chance which might probably introduce Popery. This remonstrance prevailed with the King to withdraw for the present his scheme of religious indulgence; and to issue a vague proclamation against priests and Jesuits, to which he was probably induced by the hope of a parliamentary supply. The Papists were meanwhile not remiss in encouraging the growth of dissenters; that a general toleration, including themselves, might be brought about. They were at once resolved to preserve their own phalanx united, and to divide the Nonconformists. The standing maxim avowed by the King was, to give relief to all dissenters, or to none.

XI. This year died the good and loyal Archbishop Juxon. He was succeeded by Sheldon, who during his predecessor's incapacity had long conducted the affairs of the church.

XII. 1664. Between Sheldon and Lord Clarendon it was at this period agreed, that the clergy should silently relinquish their privilege of taxing themselves in convocation, in order to be henceforward included in the money bills prepared by the Commons. As in consequence of

the regal influence with the ecclesiastical body, their supplies had always exceeded those of the Commons, they were content with this sacrifice of power for a commutation of profit; and the more so, as they were permitted to vote as freeholders at elections. The convocation has ever since ceased to be an efficient body; which is much to be regretted, on account of the growing disposition to introduce lay interference, and to shackle the fair authority of the clergy, in matters purely ecclesiastical*.

XIII. The Act of Uniformity, imposing a penalty of fine and imprisonment, having been deemed an insufficient security against the Non-conformists, the Commons now reinforced it by the well-known *Conventicle Act*, which appointed, that if five persons, unless under sixteen years of age, exceeding the members of any household, should convene in an unsanctioned place for the purposes of devotion, each individual so assembling, should incur, for the first offence, a fine of 5*l.* and three months' imprisonment; for the second, a double penalty; and for the third, 100*l.* and transportation for seven years. This was mitigated in the *Conventicle Act* of 1670, to shillings instead of pounds. In this manner were the ejected clergy incapacitated for earning a livelihood by their profession: and the *Five Mile Act* of 1664-5, preventing them from approaching within five miles of any place

* See Wix on the Expedience of a Convocation.

where they had formerly preached, or from taking boarders, or from teaching a school, abolished whatever remains of their influence might be deemed dangerous; though certainly with too severe a hand. By another act they were compelled to take an oath, that they would attempt no alteration in church or state. By these severities the ejected clergy were reduced to the lowest ebb of distress: and some lived solely upon brown rye bread and water. Baxter and others, who refused to preserve silence, suffered fine and imprisonment. Some became occasional conformists; others preached in houses with holes in the walls, communicating with other houses: whence probably is derived the name of several taverns in London, entitled, "The Hole in the Wall." The quiet submission to penalties displayed by the Quakers, overpowered the force of government.

XIV. But whatever dislike subsisted among the different orders of Protestants, in jealousy towards the Papists they strenuously concurred; nor were the language and conduct of Charles at all calculated to diminish their common prejudices and suspicions. When they considered his French alliance; when they beheld him sanction the marriage of the heir-presumptive with a Catholic princess; they could hardly fail to conclude that arbitrary power and Popery were the scope of all his designs. Under the influence

of such apprehensions, every report prejudicial to the Catholics, was but too readily credited. To them was attributed the conflagration of London; though probably the result of accident: and this groundless charge, which might be excused by the spirit of the times, stands to this day recorded on the commemorating column, which "like a tall bully lifts its head and lies*." At a subsequent period the information of Titus Oates drew from both Houses of Parliament a vote declaring the Lords and Commons to be of opinion, that there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the Popish recusants, for assassinating the King, for subverting the government, and for rooting out or destroying the Protestant religion. While the information of the infamous Oates is treated with the contempt it merits, let us not in modern times forget the inflammatory paragraphs in the letters of Colman the Jesuit, to a discovery of which it led; or the just remarks made on that disclosure, by the great English historian, who himself wholly discredited Oates's narrative. "It is certain that the restless and enterprising spirit of the Catholic

* Many churches having been consumed, the ejected ministers, disregarding the threats of government, and urged by a sense of duty, preached from temporary rooms constructed of boards; from whence their places of worship assumed the name of tabernacles.

church, particularly of the Jesuits, merits attention, and is in some degree dangerous to every other communion. Such zeal of proselytism actuates that sect, that its emissaries have penetrated into every nation of the globe; and in one sense there is a popish plot perpetually carrying on, against all states, Protestant, Pagan, and Mahometan."

XV. 1668. The known influence at court possessed by Arlington, who favoured the Catholic body, exposed them still further to public suspicion and odium. To this we may add the dismissal of Lord Clarendon, which by releasing the Nonconformists from the severities he chiefly promoted, united them more closely with the established church, and thus strengthened the outcry against Jesuits and Papists*. To confirm this union, the Lord Keeper, Bridgman, Bishop Wilkins, Chief Justice Hale, and several others, drew up a plan for a systematic incorporation of the moderate Nonconformists with the establishment; on the basis of a subscription signifying an approbation of the worship, doctrine, and government of the church, to be signed by the malcontents, to whom was to be conceded, an alteration of the Liturgy, together with the option of omitting or observing the

* Clarendon's inflexible dignity had rendered him alike obnoxious to the Catholics and the sectaries: who both considered him as their enemy:—Charles had found him the enemy both of his ambition and of his pleasures.

cross in baptism, kneeling at the sacrament, and bowing at the name of Jesus. To such Protestants as should object to this plan of comprehension, a toleration of their religion, and an exemption from all penalties, were to be granted. But the bishops in general, and the members of the House of Commons, dreading the heterogeneous admixture of forms in one church, more than (what they deemed) the bugbear of Popery, it was agreed in Parliament that no bill of comprehension should be passed; and the King was petitioned to enforce his proclamation against conventicles: while the statute against these meetings was revived with two new clauses; one imposing fines on the preacher and owner of the house; and another enjoining a penalty of five pounds on magistrates who should be remiss in putting the act in execution.

XVI. 1671. At this period, the Duke of York, the heir-presumptive to the crown, publicly abjured the Protestant religion: and this alarming event induced Parliament to petition the King that he would take measures for checking the growth of Popery. But though Charles issued a proclamation conformable to this desire, it is believed, that, with the aid of the Cabal, he was still anxious, if not to establish, at least to encourage the Popish religion, as the most favourable to absolute monarchy. Hence his desire to gain over the Non-conformists, by a declaration of indulgence, to

a connivance with his protection of the Roman Catholics. To dissenters this declaration promised licensed places of worship; and to Catholics, the unmolested exercise of their religion in private houses throughout the kingdom*.

* The apocryphal lessons were in the projected comprehension to be omitted. Such was likewise the doom of the phrases, "to regenerate this infant by thy Holy Spirit," and "to receive him for thine own child by adoption," which occur in the baptismal service. Godfathers were not to be required, when parents stood as sponsors. "Wilt thou be baptized in this faith?" was to be rendered, "Wilt thou have this child baptized?" "regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's church"—"received into the church of Christ:" and a similar substitution was proposed in the Confirmation office. In the Marriage service, "with my body I thee worship," was to be left out; and in the Office for visiting the Sick the prayers were to be optional. "To take unto himself our dear brother," was to be changed in the Burial service, into "to take out of the world the soul of," &c.; and "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection," was to be read, "in full assurance;" in the Communion service, for, "our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body," was to stand, "our sinful souls and bodies may be cleansed by his precious body and blood." The Commination was not to be enjoined. An abbreviation of the whole Liturgy was to be effected; and the Lord's Prayer and Gloria Patri to be repeated only once. The Communion service was to be omitted when there was no communion; excepting only the ten commandments, which were to be introduced after the Creed. Many of these alterations appear to be judicious; but the defects are so exceedingly trifling, that the retention of them is, perhaps, an inferior evil to the commencement of innovation. *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*

XVII. 1673. After a prorogation of two years, the Parliament assembled; and questioned the King's right to suspend penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, as had been attempted in the recent declaration, without the sanction of an act of parliament. To manifest still further their dread of Popery, a bill was passed, ordering catechetical instructions in the different parish churches throughout the realm. Thus the Non-conformists themselves were unwilling to accept a liberty plainly designed as a covert protection of Roman Catholicism. This refractory disposition boding ill for the money supply, Charles found it prudent to revoke his declaration of indulgence; and even to avow his promptitude to pass any bills which might be proposed. Availing themselves of this tender, the Commons brought in the TEST ACT, which was in fact an extension of the Corporation Act to the case of all public offices; requiring, as a preliminary to the enjoyment of them, that, in addition to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, with abjuration of belief in transubstantiation, the sacrament should be taken in some parish church; and the King, wanting money, confirmed it, though reluctantly, with the stamp of the royal assent. The Duke of York entreated that an exception might be admitted in his favour; promising that his religion should be a matter betwixt God and his

own soul; nor would ever appear in his public conduct: yet, notwithstanding this protestation, he prevailed only by two voices.

1675. The Test Act was not displeasing to the Nonconformists, as it gratified their hatred towards Popery: while they had themselves no objection to the occasional conformity of joining with the church in her communion. Another test was accordingly devised by the court party, in order to separate this association; obliging all holders of offices, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, to take the oaths introduced into the Corporation and Five Mile Acts, asserting the illegality of taking up arms against the king, or of attempting to alter the government in church or state. But, owing to a rupture between the upper and lower houses, this bill was eventually lost.

XVIII. Sheldon, known as the founder of the Theatre at Oxford, was succeeded in the primacy by Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's.

XIX. 1679. The affluence in which Oates wallowed in consequence of his information, stimulated other miscreants to play upon the national credulity: and hence arose the meal-tub plot of Dangerfield. Charles found it necessary to appease the dread of Popish councils, which now prevailed in the parliament, by requiring the Duke of York to withdraw to the

continent: to which he would only consent on being promised that the illegitimacy of the Duke of Monmouth, a son of Charles by Lucy Waters, should be publicly declared.

XX. But by a series of arbitrary acts, and indications of Catholicism, Charles at length provoked a real plot. A plan of resistance was framed, and a combination entered into with the Scottish malcontents, by Monmouth, Russell, Sydney, Essex, Howard, and John Hampden. Ramsey and Ferguson happening to be the links betwixt this scheme and an inferior conspiracy, to which these dignified individuals were strangers, a premature discovery took place, and Russell and Sydney poured out their blood for the religion and liberties of their country. Such at least is the ordinary language of declamation; and that man would be regarded as defective in patriotism, who should venture to intercept the praises lavished on two popular heroes, one of whom proposed to derange the succession to the throne, and the other to overthrow the constitution of England. The Duke of York, it is true, was an avowed Catholic: but, *at that time*, it was not known that he would violate his promise of not disturbing the faith of the people. Neither must it be forgotten that these men were among the supporters of various pretended plots, which

brought several innocent persons to the scaffold, while they themselves first hatched a real one.

XXI. 1684. To recover his popularity, Charles married Anne, his niece, to Prince George, of Denmark; as he had previously bestowed her sister Mary, on the Protestant prince of Holland. With the same view he was about to remove to Scotland the Duke of York, whom he had permitted to return from exile; and to recall Monmouth, who had fled on the apprehension of Russell; but while meditating these measures, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, and removed from a world where he had much engaged himself about the name of religion, without permitting its spirit to influence his heart or behaviour. He died in the communion of the church of Rome; rejecting the exhortations and devotional helps proposed to him by the clergy of the established faith.

Religion was with this monarch no more than an engine of state. He hated the Nonconformists from their enmity to the prerogative; and he was in truth something between a Catholic and a Deist. But why should we speak of that man's religion, who used to issue to the sacrament from the apartments of his mistresses; and whose royal word, according to the civil historian, was the most abandoned falsehood? Thus voluptuous in practice, and destitute of

principle, he had held forth in his court an example of profligacy to his subjects, which being too faithfully imitated, drove practical piety from the land; and diffused among all ranks so loose a spirit of profaneness and obscenity as to have rendered it little matter, unless for the sake of posterity, what religion was outwardly professed. The monarch on his death-bed, submitted to Popish rites; but he who had lived a libertine died a formalist: not touched with salutary remorse; not looking forward with seriousness to another world; but chiefly concerned to recommend to his brother and successor, the partners and offspring of his illicit amours.

XXII. The last revisal of the Liturgy having been executed in this sovereign's reign, it may not here be improper to take a cursory view of that work, in its various stages of advancement to its present acknowledged excellence. Latin liturgies, composed of ancient prayers, and other devotional forms, adapted to the Romish religion, were used without uniformity in different parts of the kingdom, antecedently to the time of Cranmer. Our present Liturgy, like the Reformation in general, was gradually elaborated into perfection, by the progressive and accumulated efforts of a succession of learned, able, and pious divines. Under Henry VIII. an amendment in the ancient service was

begun : but it was by direction of Edward VI. that Cranmer, assisted by a committee of eleven other divines *, drew up the first sketch of the English Common Prayer Book, which was ratified by Parliament in 1548. Not to shock the prejudices of the people by violent changes, is well known to have been Cranmer's laudable principle of reform ; but finding that this moderation, when applied to the devotional offices, had left much of the ancient superstition unpruned, he consulted Bucer and Martyr, and produced, with their assistance, a revision of the new Liturgy, in the fourth year after its promulgation. The original draught had commenced with the Lord's Prayer ; to which the introductory sentences, with the Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, were now prefixed. The oil in baptism, the anointing of the sick, the sign of the cross in confirmation, the water mixed with wine in the Eucharist, and the prayers for departed souls, were expunged from the ritual : while the decalogue, and a proper explanation of kneeling at the altar, were inserted in the communion service. After the repeal of this book by Mary, it was revised by Elizabeth in 1559 : when proper lessons for Sundays were first appointed ; prayers inserted for the sovereign, clergy, and people ; and,

* See Wheatly and Shepherd,

with a view to conciliate the Catholics, several alterations made in the communion service. As the clause, “for deliverance from the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities,” was now omitted, many Roman Catholics conformed for more than ten years: and even the Pope, had his supremacy been acknowledged, would have granted his sanction to the Liturgy. The collect, and intercession for the royal family, with the particular forms of thanksgiving, were added in the reign of James I.: when the latter part of the Catechism, concerning the Sacraments, was introduced; and the rubric confined the administration of baptism to a lawful minister. The alterations made by the authority of Charles I. were few and trifling: but in 1661, the year subsequent to the restoration, the Savoy conference betwixt twelve Episcopalians, and as many Presbyterian divines, for revising the Liturgy, having proved abortive, the improvements proposed by the former were adopted in convocation; and the general thanksgiving, the several collects for the Parliament, for the ember weeks, for all conditions of men; for Easter eve, and for the Third Sunday in Advent; together with the collect, epistle, and gospel for the Sixth Sunday after Epiphany, the office of baptism for those of riper years, the psalms in the burial service, the forms of prayer for seamen; for the martyrdom of the

first Charles and restoration of the second, were inserted in the public manual of devotion. In the general revision of the work, ambiguous expressions were removed, errors corrected, and minor improvements and graces judiciously introduced*. In particular, the epistles and gospels were copied from James I.'s Bible; but, in accommodation to the habits of the common people, the psalter was suffered to remain, and still remains, less perfect as a translation than that contained in the Bible, but a venerable memorial of the labours of Archbishop Cranmer. In these various emendations and improvements, we cannot fail to observe a zealous desire to eradicate all remains of the ancient superstition, and a reasonable accommodation to the scruples of tender consciences, both Catholic and Presbyterian, though checked by the moderation which flies not off to wild extremes. We must, therefore, condemn that puritanical precision, which inveighed so strenuously against the cross, the ring, and the surplice, and made these trifles a ground of ultimate schism, when the malcontents ought to have rewarded, by the surrender of trivial objections, the wise and principled expurgation practised by their brethren. To the book, thus perfectionated, the convocation set its seal; and the bishops and clergy an-

* See Section VIII. of this Chapter.

nexed their subscriptions; after which it was ratified in Parliament, and May 19, 1662, received the royal assent. To state that no alteration has since that time been deemed requisite, is perhaps the highest encomium that can be pronounced on our excellent Liturgy. As to occasional prayers, suited to political exigencies, with their "battles of Salamanca, and their languages of complaint*;" these special performances exhibit a most melancholy proof, that to alter would only be to mar and to deteriorate; and that the genius of England, once almost preternaturally inspired, has now passed its perihelion.

XXIII. Parliament, during this reign, seem-

* "Suffer not our prayers to assume the language of complaint." What is this? Did not David's prayers assume the language of complaint, when he cried, "Let my complaint come before thee?" Psalm cxix. 169. As to the elegant particularization of the peninsular battle, we can only observe, that the piety was better than the taste. It ought to be an object with the framers of devotional supplications, to avoid leading the imagination of the worshippers astray, by the introduction of any worldly or ludicrous associations: and I will venture to say, that on every occurrence of this phrase, a certain hideous figure, who clenching his fist, in the puppet-show, endeavours to intimidate Punchinello, by loudly crying out "Salamanca," and is knocked down by that hero in contempt for the vociferation of his menaces, would start unbidden before thousands of the purest minds. In constructing the incomparable Liturgy, Cranmer never cribbed from the Gazette.

ed to squint with two jealous eyes, alike against the Papists and the Dissenters. The *Test Act* (25 Char. II. c. 2) was a flaming sword waved to forbid the approach of either, to civil or military offices *. The Dissenters were persuaded to agree to what would bear hard against themselves, through their enmity to the church of Rome. At present, however, their descendants pronounce it to be the profanation of a solemn ordinance; a temptation to presumptuous hypocrisy; and an unjust exclusion of conscientious, peaceable, and loyal men, from places of trust and profit, for which a difference of opinion merely, does by no means disqualify them. To this it may be replied, that, by a strange contradiction, they themselves still insist upon the exclusion of Roman Catholics, and thus give up their own principle of remonstrance. The field of an established religion must necessarily be fenced round, in order to protect the quiet of naturally inactive possession, against the restless attempts of the excluded animals, to obtain possession of the pasture. Religious and political sentiments seem in theory to be distinct; but in experience they are found to be associated. A Catholic, perhaps from the construction of his hierarchy, has a bias towards arbitrary power: while a Dissenter, without being a republican, is actuated, perhaps from the

* See Section XVII. of this Chapter.

republican nature of his church, by some spirit of encroachment on the royal prerogative. A limited monarchy, therefore, may tolerate both bodies of recusants, in the full and free exercise of their religious worship, provided only that some competent restraint may be imposed upon their natural political tendencies. But if all civil advantages be unguardedly thrown open to them, there is danger, lest these tendencies, the pressure being removed from their spring, should obtain their full elasticity, and destroy the just balance of the constitution.

As to the other branch of the objection, it is hardly to be believed, however low an estimate of human nature we may form, that many would be found daring enough, for the prize of some paltry lucre, to receive the blessed sacrament with a deliberate lie upon their tongues. At all events, it is unfair to throw the whole blame on the imposer of the test; whose object was, evidently, to preclude hypocritical acceptance. What the Test Act was in reference to places under government, such was the Corporation Act as to all magisterial offices. The Conventicle, the Uniformity, and the Five Mile Acts, have all been already explained.

An act was passed against profaning the Lord's day, by buying, selling, or pursuing ordinary callings. Another prohibited the oath, *ex officio*, by which persons might criminate

themselves. In 1677, the old law for burning heretics was repealed: a measure tending to tranquillize the minds of the people, who continually dreaded a return of Popery.

There were acts against lay administration of the Lord's supper, against Quakers refusing oaths, against the votes of Papists in Parliament, against sending children to Popish places of education. One act directed the book of Common Prayer to be placed in every church; another prescribed the burying in a woollen shroud; and a third ordered the keeping of register-book of funerals.

XXIV. In this reign died LORD CLARENDON and PETER HEYLIN, two celebrated historians, who have treated largely of the English church. As they were, both of them, Arminians, royalists, and high churchmen, their narratives are tinged with the colour of their principles, and will be read with suitable allowances*. Heylin, in the reign of Charles I. had penetrated into the design which lurked under the purchasing of impropriations. But though an asserter of the prerogative, and an enemy to schismatics, as appeared in his *Histories of the Church*, and of the early Dissenters, he obtained no higher promotion on the restoration, than the stall of sub-dean in Westminster Abbey. Bux-

* Athen. Oxon. and Barnard's Life of Heylin.

torf the younger, Lightfoot, and Poole, may be classed together as erudite scholars and theologians. BUXTORF succeeded his father in the chair of Hebrew in Basil; he has published a much-esteemed *Hebrew Concordance*, and has defended the antiquity of the points. The *Harmony and Commentaries* of *Lightfoot* afford an admirable specimen of the application of human learning in the cause of religion. POOLE'S *SYNOPSIS*, in five volumes, folio, is a learned and laborious collection of all preceding commentaries on the Bible; a *variorum illustration*. So highly useful a work is surely well deserving of being continued down to the present time. An abridged translation of the *Synopsis* has been published, bearing the title of *Poole's Annotations*. Bochart, likewise, applied his vast acquirements to an illustration of the geography and natural history of Scripture. He was minister of Caen, in Normandy. His *Phaleg* and *Canaan* treats of sacred topography; and his *Hieroicoicon*, of animals mentioned in the Bible. Bishop WILKINS, the husband of Cromwell's sister, owed his promotion to the favour of Villars, Duke of Buckingham. He is better known by his mathematical genius, and fanciful speculations in astronomy, than by his treatises on NATURAL RELIGION, on Prayer, on Providence, or on the Gift of Preaching. Not so the learned mathematician, Dr. ISAAC BARROW, who conse-

crated the flower of his talents on the altar of God; and whose SERMONS reflect high credit on the English pulpit, as its choicest specimens of majestic eloquence, and vigorous argumentation. Charles II. used to style him, humorously, an unfair preacher; who exhausted every subject, and left nothing for others to glean. But a vein of still more glowing piety, and a more comprehensive scope of morals, adorned with the fascinations of an inimitable style, have elevated *Jeremy Taylor* to the highest pedestal in the temple of practical divines, whether of his own, or of any other age or country. In his SERMONS, his *Life of Christ*, and his *Holy Living and Dying*, he has let loose the reins of a magical and playful, though not extravagant fancy, which summons all the works of nature as ministers to its will, and beguiles the mind into the paths of God and duty, with a lavish profusion of brilliant imagery and expanded eloquence. As an eminent lawyer, *Sir Matthew Hale* is well known: Selden had further instructed him in almost the whole circle of the sciences; but on reading his *Contemplations* and *Discourse on the Knowledge of God*, &c. it might well be imagined that he had made divinity his sole study. *Drelincourt's Treatise on Death*, which has passed through forty editions, and appeared in French, Dutch, German, Italian, and English; and *Whichcot's Sermons* and *Religious*

Aphorisms, published after his death, with a preface by the author of the *Characteristics*, must not be placed on the same shelf with the more classical productions of Barrow, Taylor, and Hale. *The Court of the Gentiles*, by *Theophilus Gale*, is an elaborate disquisition showing that the wisest among the Pagan philosophers borrowed their most sublime speculations, natural and moral, as well as divine, from the sacred writings. Bishop SANDERSON, who died in 1663, never committed his SERMONS to memory; and hence, on their publication, it was observed, that the best sermons ever read, had never been preached. To this bishop's fidelity Charles I. bore honourable testimony. "I carry my ears," said he, "to other preachers, and my conscience to Sanderson:" a compliment not dissimilar to that paid by Louis XIV. to Massillon: "Other orators send me forth pleased with *them*: it is yours alone to render me dissatisfied with myself." Sanderson suffered much from the parliamentary party; and kept a roll of Nonconformists designed for subjection to discipline: but on his death-bed he ordered that this catalogue should be burnt. Until his 60th year, he is said to have never expended five shillings in wine for his personal use. He carried on a controversy with Hammond on the Calvinist and Arminian differences. He published several

books of casuistry; and is the author of the *Antiquities of Lincoln*.

CALAMY died in 1666, of grief on beholding the ruins of London, after the great conflagration. His SERMONS are truly excellent: vehemence in that strong eloquence which marked an earlier period; but mixed with the quaint and untasteful infringements on delicacy, peculiar to the reign of Charles II. PATRICK, when a young man, wrote against toleration; but Neale affirms that, contrary to the usual course of biasses, he regretted this performance, when bishop of Ely. He is more deserving of remembrance, by his COMMENTARY and practical works. PARKER also, an anti-tolerant, was assailed by the wit of the celebrated ANDREW MARVELL, to whom a letter was addressed anonymously, containing the following threat: "If thou darest to print or publish any lie or libel against Dr. Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat." Among the Nonconformist divines of the reign under review, JANEWAY, author of the *Tokens for Children*, deserves particular notice. This work is, perhaps, rather calculated to encourage cant, than sober piety in tender minds, and to draw clouds over the sunshine of spring. *Owen's Display of Arminianism* is still held by the ultra-calvinists, as a work of reference and high authority. Among his other works, his *Exposition of the Hebrews* is, in par-

ticular, rescued from oblivion. He was the most learned of all the Nonconformist divines.

XXV. While the minds of men were exasperated by religious differences, a body of divines, entitled Latitudinarians, attempted to reconcile the contending parties, on the two disputed points of Calvinistic doctrine and church government*. This project, benevolent in speculation, but impossible in practice, had been originated in the preceding reign, by the ever-memorable Hales, in his *Essay on Schism and Schismatics*, and by his friend *Chillingworth*, in the work entitled, "The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation †."

Charles, on his restoration, took the Latitudinarians into favour; though he subsequently adopted different councils. STILLINGFLEET, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, published his *Irenicum* in 1661: being an attempt to show that no form of church government existed jure divino, and that the church had no power to impose restrictions in indifferent matters. Next year, however, he renounced these crude speculations, these romantic visions of recon-

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. book ii. p. 188.

† See Mosheim, vol. v. p. 412; Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 188; Desmargeux's Lives of Hales and Chillingworth; Rapin's Dissertation on the Whigs and Tories; and Fowles's Principles and Practice of certain moderate Divines of the Church of England greatly misunderstood.

cilement; and subscribed the Act of Uniformity. Whichcot, More, and Cudworth, in the same reign, and Tillotson and John Gale, the Baptist, at a later period, engaged in the same fruitless attempt to blend substances wholly incapable of amalgamation.

In 1665, the plague desolated London. So destructive were its ravages, that grass grew in the streets; and every night the bellman cried aloud, Bring out your dead. Houses and shops were shut; and all those infected were marked with a cross, accompanied by the words, "Lord have mercy upon us." In the midst of these horrors, some of the ejected clergy continued the labours of their ministry*. Vincent, the ex-minister of Milk Street, remained in the city during the whole period of this visitation; and solaced, without fear, every sick person who sent for him; printing at the same time two monitory pamphlets; one of them entitled, *God's Voice in the City* †.

* Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 2.

† Gouge, of Blackfriars, founded 3 or 400 schools: his funeral sermon was preached by Tillotson. The Whigs, a term meaning sour milk, was an appellation given to the more rigid Scots covenanters. The Test Act was superseded by dispensations from Rome, enabling the Papists to hold offices.

XXVI.—THE PRESBYTERIANS.

The Presbyterians, according to their own account, are coeval with the Apostolic age. Episcopacy, they affirm, arose about the middle of the second century*; and existed almost universally as a corruption of the primitive form, from that period until the Reformation. In a short time, Presbyterianism passed from Geneva, where it had arisen under Calvin, into France, Holland, Scotland, Ireland, and England. What Fuller calls the first-born of all the presbyteries in England, was established in 1572, at Wandsworth, in Surrey, by Field, their minister†; who gave it the name of the Order of Wandsworth‡. Cromwell himself,

* See Hill's Theolog. Instit. p. 167. Campbell's Lectures on Eccles. Hist. vol. i.

† Fuller, Cent. 16, p. 103.

‡ Eleven elders were chosen, and their offices registered; and “secundum usum Wandsworth was as much honoured by the Presbyterians, as secundum usum Sarum had been by the Romanists.” Round this congregation were gathered the English Puritans, who returned in the reign of Elizabeth, impregnated with Calvinism, from Geneva, Francfort, and other places; and derived their name from their dissatisfaction with the Church, which they deemed not formed after a pure model. James treated them more mildly than Elizabeth; but in the reign of Charles I. they experienced much opposition from Laud. Nevertheless, their party, gathering strength, assisted in overturning the established order of

attached to the Independents, found it necessary to favour the Presbyterian party; and having risen to power on the ruins of monarchy and episcopacy, he delivered the English church to the management of commissioners, composed of both denominations. At the restoration of Charles II. the ark of the visible church was delivered out of the hands of these Philistines: but we have already sufficiently enlarged on the case of the ejected clergy.

In short, whatever promise the King made, was, even beyond the letter, abided by; until the seditious preaching of some of the Nonconformists rendered the Act of Uniformity necessary as a measure of civil prudence, rather than of ecclesiastical persecution.

To ascertain whether the Nonconformists, or the clergy attached to the royal cause, had most reason to complain, the reader is referred to Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, a book written to counteract the prejudices instilled by Calamy in his *Life of Baxter*. To Baxter, although in the earlier editions of his "*Saint's Rest*," he had translated the regicides into heaven, was offered the bishopric of Hereford; and in refusing conformity, however he may have ma-

things; but in the time of the Commonwealth they were supplanted by the Independents, who were more artful, and less sincere.

nifested his sincerity, he undoubtedly forfeited the title to be styled “a pillar of the Church of England*.”

From the troubles of the 17th century, many English Presbyterians, together with other separatists, took refuge in America; where the seed of their religion, which they sowed, now flourishes extensively, in the northern parts of the United States.

Presbyterianism is the established religion in Scotland; and the Seceding and Relief congregations are strictly of the same persuasion. The inhabitants of the north of Ireland, being of Scottish extraction, are mostly Presbyterians: but a body of Protestant Dissenters in England are improperly designated by that name; having no presbyteries, synods, or assemblies; and not being strongly attached to Calvinistic principles.

During the reign of Charles the First, the object of the Presbyterians was, in government, to limit the monarchy; and in religion, to abolish liturgies and retrench ceremonies. When in power, they were more intolerant than the Independents: the principle of the latter being freedom of opinion, and independence on external authority; while the former were actuated by a fixed persuasion, that their own mode of service

* Wilberforce's Practical View, p. 379.

was alone pure and correct*. But the character of the Presbyterians in those times of trouble, ought not to biass our opinion of their descendants, who are, for the most part, peaceable and loyal, upright in conduct, and tolerant in principle. Among foreign Presbyterians, Calvin, Martyr, Beza, Bullinger, Zanchius, Blondell, Salmasius, Dallœus, Claude, &c. may be classed as the most eminent; while the names of Knox, Henry, M'Knight, Gerard, Logan, Robertson, Campbell, and Blair, have adorned the annals of Presbyterianism at home.

We may consider the Presbyterian religion, as it relates—1st, to doctrine; 2dly, to church-government; and, 3dly, to ceremonious observances.

1. In regard to doctrine, if we were to judge by public confessionals, by the Belgic and Westminster Confessions, the Articles of the Synod of Dort, and the Assembly's and Mother's Catechisms, we should pronounce all Presbyterians, with the exception of the Arminians in Holland,

* They therefore deemed toleration “a hideous monster; the great Diana of the Ephesians. The covenant was accordingly formed for the extirpation of episcopacy; nor, in the treaty of the Isle of Wight, would they allow Charles the use of the Common Prayer Book in his own family. In subjection, they pleaded for toleration, like most dependent sects; but they forgot it when in power.”—Grey's Bampton Lectures, p. 284.

to hold the Calvinistic form of Christianity. But many members of the Scotch Kirk, as well as the English Presbyterians, are understood to be Calvinists only by inheritance. Blair, who introduced a new style into the pulpit, is distinguished by good sense and elegant writing; but he has no Calvinism, and, indeed, not much Christianity. In Scotland, there are two sorts of preaching, of which Blair and Ebenezer Erskine may be regarded, severally, as the models. The Seceders are all Calvinists; as are also the stricter ministers of that establishment. For these, and for the English Calvinistic sects, the same reasoning will suffice, which has already been pursued at great length in our treatise on the Quinquarticular Controversy.

2. Presbyterianism is chiefly deserving of attention, by reason of its distinctive form of church-government. Its adherents hold, not less than the Episcopalians, the divine authority of the priesthood: they regard their mode of religion as an institution derived immediately from Christ and his Apostles: but they deny that the order of bishops belonged to the primitive church; and they assert the validity of orders conferred solely by the imposition of the hands of the presbytery. They contend, that there is no distinction, excepting in name, betwixt a presbyter and a bishop; that they are one and the same. 'All ministers are equal, as ambassadors

of Christ, by commission : so it was in the beginning, till episcopacy crept in, from the practice of establishing, as a permanent officer, the moderator, or temporary superintendent, of the presbytery.' They refer to 1 Peter, v. 1, 2, 3; Heb. xiii. 7—17; and 1 Thess. v. 12; in the first of which passages the presbyter performs the office of a bishop; in the other two, the bishop that of a presbyter.

A presbytery is an association of ministers and ruling elders, possessed of equal powers; and Presbyterian church-government is founded on the principle of admitting no superiority of rank in the ministry, saving official preference, for the sake of order, conferred by the body of the clergy.

In some continental churches, the superintendents are appointed for life; but in general, the office of moderator is annual. A body of presbyters, with a moderator, stands exactly in the place of a bishop; it judges of qualifications for the ministry, confers orders, institutes, inducts, and exercises inspection and jurisdiction over all ministers within its bounds. Dr. Hill affirms, that every person so ordained, is as much a successor of the Apostles, as any Christian teacher can be. Theol. Instit. p. 166.

There is a Low Church party of the Presbyterians, with respect to government, who, considering that no form has been prescribed in

Scripture, vindicate their choice on the score of expedience. Both to these, and to the advocates of Presbyterianism by divine right, we have endeavoured to reply, in the dissertation prefixed to the second volume: proving, first, that a form has actually been prescribed; and, secondly, that that form is episcopal*.

* On the question of expedience, it may briefly be observed, that from the episcopal establishment many happy results arise. The clergy are under a fit control, both in regard to their morals and doctrines. The inspection of a bishop is, in most instances, preferable to that of a presbytery, where local animosities and personal jealousies may warp fair judgment. Dignity is added to the church by means of the titles, the respectable establishments, and the venerable character of its heads. In the inequality of church revenues, such as are scanty, open a field for disinterested zeal; while such as are ample, reward the labours of the pious and learned; and (as there is nothing incompatible betwixt zeal and opulence, or rank) furnish suitable provisions for those well-disposed sons, in families belonging to the superior classes, who prefer the peaceful vale of religion, to the noisy turbulence of the other paths of life.

An easy ecclesiastical income confers the power of exercising extensive benevolence and hospitality: while the scantier pittances excite an honest desire to obtain that respect, by worth and talent, which the inferior clergy have not the gifts of fortune to secure.

If the revenues of the church were exactly equalized, they would each be too scanty for the subsistence of individuals who derived their sole support from their profession. Thus, if the great estates in this country were broken down, and an acre given to every man, no man would have more than an acre.

Granting that each living and curacy were made one hundred pounds a year by strict equalization (and that is much more than the right calculation); the order of the clergy would quickly fall into disrepute. Persons of education who had families to maintain, however desirous they might be of serving God in the church, would be deterred by reasonable considerations from entering it. Some few disinterested individuals, it is true, might be found, willing to give their labour for what is next to nothing; and either possessed of independencies, or content with poverty. But as they who live at the altar, live, in general, together with their dependent families, *by* the altar (and it is reasonable they should do so), it is probable that, under such an arrangement, the majority of the clergy would be men, not of education, respectability, and rational zeal, but of enthusiastic principles, low birth, coarse manners, and mean acquirements. And, however successful the ministry of such characters in opposition to an established church may sometimes be; that it would be equally so, in the church opposed, and, as opposed, deserving some extraneous weight to counterbalance the force and spite of opposition, is extremely problematical. Certain it is, that the nature of their success would be far less valuable than the proselytism effected, and the piety preserved, by the address of educated men, whose urbanity exemplifies their Christian principles, to the calm reason of their fellow-beings.

It is here necessary to observe, that we have in this place been unavoidably led to identify the order of deacons, with the holders of stipendiary curacies or small ecclesiastical preferments. Many stipendiary curates are priests, and many priests possess scanty ecclesiastical preferments. The general scope of the argument, however, is not affected by a few necessary anomalies. Deacons are for the most part stipendiary curates: the order of deacon being the first step in the church, and a stipendiary curacy the usual title to ordination.

There is also an analogy betwixt deacons in reference to

priests, and curates in reference to beneficed persons, which renders the foregoing observations applicable to both cases.

A deacon, by the laws of our church, does not pronounce the absolution, consecrate the bread and wine, or administer the bread. Deacons were, in the primitive church, young men waiting at the altar, baptizing, and serving tables. Persons are admitted to deacons' orders at the age of twenty-three, and to priests' orders, one year later; and this, after a new and a stricter examination, relative to their talents and morals; an ordinance which provides that, during the first year of his ecclesiastical life, the minister shall establish the salutary habit of weaning himself from secular pursuits; retaining his academical information; and establishing a character for gravity, piety, morality, application, and knowledge, which is a pledge for his behaviour throughout the whole of his life.

In regard to ceremonies, we would maintain, on the same ground of expedience, that every church is at liberty to appoint its own ceremonies; there being no express ordinance in Scripture, relative to minute ceremonious observances. It is obvious, however, that this liberty may be abused; as it is, undoubtedly, by all those who employ gaudy, unmeaning, or multiplied ceremonies: these tending to draw off attention from that pure and spiritual worship which consists of the homage of the heart and the regulation of the conduct. If man were a pure intelligence, no ceremonies whatever would be either requisite or proper: but as he is composed of body and soul; and as great part of his knowledge comes through the medium of his senses; some accommodation to this compound condition of his nature becomes advisable in prescribing a form for the direction of his public devotions. His attention must be fixed, and his affections engaged on the side of religion, by the solemn music and the modest decorations of a church, and by the grave and decent vestments of those who minister in holy things. That church, then, moves in the precise line of reason, betwixt the total absence of ceremonies, and an extravagant use of them,

which prescribes such as shall lead attention to God, but not arrest it on themselves ; such as shall appear to be a means for the better performance of worship and duty, without occupying so much of the eye, as to be in danger of being regarded as that performance of worship and of duty itself.

And of this description are the ceremonies of the Church of England. The cross, the ring, and surplice, were all of them emblems, few, simple, and significant ; and therefore ought not to have been objected to. We are continually acting by signs : the auctioneer knocks down his lot, and the farmer strikes his bargain.

Among the ceremonies of our church, we may reckon the rubrics which direct the postures of standing, kneeling, and sitting, during different parts of the service. These attitudes are, with great propriety, adapted to the mental affections, respectively supposed to accompany various religious exercises. Thus, we are commanded to *kneel*, while we are imploring favours, or giving thanks for those already received : this attitude being habitually regarded by us, in common life, as expressive of a sense of unworthiness and humility ; the sentiments which ought to inspire us in these parts of the service. We *stand* while praising God, to signify our cheerfulness, and the lifting up of our hearts ; and also while professing our belief, to denote our steadfastness in the Christian faith. While the word of God is read in the lessons, or expounded from the pulpit, the congregation *sit*, in listening to it : because these instructions are delivered to themselves primarily, as men ; not having, like the prayers and praises, an immediate reference to sentiments of devotion. It is a maxim in philosophy, that an imitation of the gestures which naturally accompany an affection of the mind, tends to introduce, or to strengthen, that affection. Our devotions are accompanied by the postures prescribed in the Liturgy, upon the same principle which teaches us to stand uncovered in the house of God, that being the customary outward sign of respect. All these attitudes, then, being associated in our minds, with the sentiments which either

nature or the habits of life attach to them ; will, in the hour of worship, call up these sentiments in minds where they do not already exist, and confirm them, where they do.

Another excellence peculiar to our church, consists in its *festivals*. The Reformation wisely struck out of our calendar a multiplicity of saints' days and holydays, as tending to make the common people idle ; whereas the same God who commands men to rest on the seventh day, positively enjoins, *Six days shalt thou labour*. Nevertheless, besides the service of Sundays, a few solemn week-days are, in perfect consistence with decency and propriety, observed ; such as *Christmas-day* ; the *Epiphany*, or day commemorating the first extension of Christianity to the Gentiles (the benefits of which we all partake) ; *Ash Wednesday*, or the first day of Lent, a season of solemn preparation for a fit commemoration of our Saviour's sufferings and resurrection ; *Good Friday*, the day on which our Redeemer was crucified ; as well as the whole of the *Passion-week* ; *Holy Thursday*, the day on which our Lord ascended into heaven ; and a few other days dedicated to the honour of the Apostles, the Mother, and first friends of our Lord. Two of these days are holy above the rest : those which commemorate the birth, and the crucifixion of the Saviour of the world.

The other holydays, as well as the service on the *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* throughout the year, are principally designed for those, whose easy circumstances, or superannuated condition, exempts them from daily labour. They are designed, in a word, for all who can attend them, without temporal injury to their families ; and who, if they did not attend, would probably be seduced by too much leisure, into some sinful or vain way of spending their time. On *Ash Wednesday*, and during *Passion-week*, however, all persons of every age and business might, without inconvenience, devote one hour to public worship ; returning to their usual occupations during the remainder of the day.

As the festivals of the church are thus few, simple,

and proper, its OFFICES are conformable to decency and reason.

For a proof of this assertion, it is only necessary to enumerate them. We have a *communion* service, leading our devotions in that most sacred rite, with the same sublimity and simplicity of language, the same animation and reasonableness, the same *spirit and understanding* in point of matter, which pervade the Liturgy. We have an office of *baptism*; another for *confirmation*; another for the *visitation of the sick*; another for expressing the gratitude of persons recovered from *childbirth*; another for *conferring orders* on persons who undertake the ministry; another for the solemn ceremony of *marriage*; and another for *burying the dead*. The reasonableness of such offices is so obvious, as to require no comment: and if any person will take the trouble to peruse them, he will find, that, in language and matter, they are all as excellent compositions as have ever proceeded from the ordinary inspirations of the Spirit.

One of those advices which deservedly gave Solomon the name of wise man, Eccles. v. 2, is, *Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter any thing before God; for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth*. When we contrast the majesty of God with our own littleness, and his purity with our offences, we cannot but acknowledge that we ought to approach him with awe, and with the dread of saying any thing that may be rash, indecent, or irreverent. For this purpose a liturgy or form of prayer is the best calculated. The inspired Apostles, indeed, and early disciples, had less occasion than we have, for forms, (although, in the Lord's prayer, they had one which was perfect, and which was given as a model for their future devotions), since their prayers were dictated to them by a more enlarged measure of the Spirit of God. But as soon as Christianity had settled itself, this extraordinary assistance, which had been given to strengthen it against the first opposition which it met with, being no longer necessary, was with-

drawn : and Christians are only now endowed with those common influences which prompt, aid, and strengthen their own exertions and co-operations.

In the present situation of the world, then, forms have the advantage over extemporaneous prayer. They are equally dictated by the Spirit; because the Spirit may influence those who compose them in their studies, as well as another in the moment of offering unpremeditated petitions. A liturgy informs us, before we repair to the house of worship, what prayers are to be offered in our name. We have a previous opportunity of studying them; and of either approving of their excellence, or (if we dislike them) of resolving to absent ourselves from the place where they are read. And while the minister is reading them, our attention is not divided; we have nothing to think of but our devotion. How differently situated is a congregation listening to extemporaneous prayer, wherein he who is their organ and mouth, may shock his fellow-worshippers, while they are lifted on the wing of adoration, by vulgar expressions, or ignorant, unlawful, trifling supplications; and while communing with the Almighty in their name, make them advance opinions different from those they hold; as well as prefer petitions foreign to their wishes or principles.

Whatever beauty and propriety the original composers of a liturgy have given it, continue with it on all occasions. All who join in it are sure, that neither incapacity, nor indolence, nor lukewarmness, nor occasional elevation or depression of spirits; neither political bias, nor malignant passions, nor want of orthodoxy, nor excess of enthusiasm in their minister, can communicate themselves to the supplications which are offered in their name and in their behalf; as may obviously be done wherever there is no form of prayer. Now, if liturgies in general be thus preferable to extemporaneous prayers, the devotional service of the Church of England is the best of all liturgies. For sublimity, simplicity, and propriety of language; for raising the humble, cheering the contrite, soothing

the afflicted ; for furnishing expressions to sentiments of divine affection, supplication, praise, and thanksgiving ; for reasonableness in its progress from exhortation to confession ; from confession to an offer of absolution to sincere penitence ; from thence to prayers for divine assistance ; mingled with praise, thanksgiving, the reading of the word of God, and solemn professions of faith ; for providing petitions for all the exigencies of men in general, and even for the various temporal wants of individuals ; for propriety in conducting public worship, by short prayers, responses, and other innocent means, which stimulate attention, and prevent devotion from growing weary ; the liturgy of the Established Church, for all these excellencies, stands unrivalled amongst human compositions *.

* Grant's Sermon on the Reasonableness of the Established Church.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REIGN OF JAMES II.

Contents.

- I. *Contradictory Promises and Conduct of James.*—
 II. *Remark on the Power of dispensing with the Test,*
 —III. *The King courts the Dissenters, in order to fa-*
vour the Catholics.—IV. *Court of Ecclesiastical Com-*
mission.—V. *Attempts to introduce Catholics into the*
Universities.—VI. *The Nonconformists see the Designs,*
and reject the Protection of James.—VII. *The Church*
Party call in the Interference of the Prince of Orange.
 —VIII. *The Bishops are imprisoned for refusing to*
read the new Declaration of Indulgence.—IX. *The*
Prince of Orange declines to sanction the Suspension of
the Test.—X. *Universal Odium against the King.*—
 XI. *His Abdication and Character.*—XII. *Acts of*
Parliament.—XIII. *Learned Divines.*—XIV. *Mis-*
cellaneous Matters.

1685. I. PROMISES, costing little, and being a convenient mode of conciliating popularity, are often made in profusion by monarchs, on their accession, with small, or soon-forgotten intention of performance. James II. promised to protect the Protestant religion; and (as if example were not indispensable to protection), on the second Sunday after his accession, went

publicly to mass. He filled the Parliament with men enamoured of the doctrine of passive obedience; and sent an agent to Rome to prepare the re-admission of England within the pale of the Catholic church *. To palliate these actions, sufficiently indicative of his principles, he repeated his assurances of preserving the established government, both ecclesiastical and civil: and the Parliament, in return, voted him so large a sum, as enabled him to maintain his forces, independently of their further assistance.

Parliament wished the laws against Dissenters to be enforced; but were compelled to keep silence, since that object could not be attained without including the Catholic body. James boldly acquainted them, that he had retained officers in his army, who were prevented from qualifying agreeably to the recent tests. For this speech he was thanked by the House of Commons; but opposed by Compton, Bishop of London, in the name of the whole episcopal bench. The King, foreseeing the evils of such opposition, dissolved the Parliament; and during his reign that body assembled no more.

II. By thus dispensing with the tests, in the

* The Pontiff, Innocent XI. more prudent than the Monarch, remonstrated with him on the impropriety of a measure, impracticable in itself, and likely to involve him in difficulties. Thus, Charles II. had too little zeal, and James too much, for an instrument of Romish ambition.

case of Catholic officers, James disgusted and alienated the church, the strongest support of monarchy; and the army, the means and guards of arbitrary government. Yet this dispensing power was vindicated by a variety of precedents, and by the opinion of eminent lawyers, chiefly of Sir Edward Coke, on the principle of the King's possessing a natural right to command the services of all his subjects. But in the general sense of the people, the test was properly regarded as the great barrier to secure the Protestant religion under a Catholic monarch.

1686. III. Many members of the Establishment now opened their eyes to a consciousness of those evils with which they were threatened, and refused to co-operate with the King in his arbitrary measures; when James, determined to be absolute, began to court the Dissenters, whom he had hitherto treated with harshness *. He encouraged the re-opening of their conventicles; and some among them fondly imagined

* Baxter was arraigned before Judge Jefferies, for some passages against episcopal power, in his Paraphrase on the New Testament. This wretch assailed his prisoner with the most vulgar brutality of abuse. "Yonder," said he, "stands Titus Oates on the pillory; and if Mr. Baxter were on the other side, I should say that there stood two of the greatest rogues in England." The Dissenters now held their religious meetings in rooms having trap-doors, holes in the partition, and back passages. They locked their doors, they had vedettes in the streets, and, through fear of detection, sang no psalms.

they beheld anew the halcyon days of their prosperity; but the more judicious, discerning in this unwonted favour only a desire to strengthen the Popish party, against the church, by an analogous and embracing toleration, were not detached by the royal coquetry from their affinity with the Established Clergy. In the mean time, many divines of the English church, perceiving the full danger of Popery, defended the cause of Protestantism with much learning and eloquence, both in pamphlets and public discourses. Among these champions of truth we find the respectable names of Tillotson, Patrick, Wake, Whitby, Sharp, Atterbury, Williams, Aldrich, Burnet, and Fowler; who replied to the cheap and mischievous brochures of the Catholics. James, at the instigation of his priests, prohibited the inferior clergy from discussing, in their sermons, the controverted points of Popery. Dr. Sharp was noticed as having infringed this mandate; but he was not punished at the present juncture.

IV. In pursuance of the system of hostility to the Church, Judge Jefferies proposed a revival of the High Commission Court, under the name of an Ecclesiastical Commission; but the Bishops, with the exception of Carew of Durham, and Spratt of Rochester, absented themselves from its meetings. The Bishop of London was first summoned before this court, for

having refused to pass a censure on Dr. Sharp, before his conviction. This divine, on making submission, was restored to the exercise of his functions; but the Bishop of London remained under suspension.

1687. V. Another scheme of the court party, that is, of James, governed by the Queen, and by Peters, a privy-counsellor and his confessor, was to introduce into the Universities Jesuits and other Catholics, with the view of influencing elections and statutes, and of poisoning the fountains of education and religion. The refusal of Cambridge to admit, without the oaths, Father Francis, a Benedictine, as a Master of Arts, in compliance with the royal mandate—and the rejection of Farmer, the candidate proposed by the King, as the President of Magdalen College in Oxford—are facts well known in the civil histories of the country. Oxford had brought this imposition upon its own head, by a profession of passive obedience: but though Farmer was set aside on account of his infamous character, the King succeeded in placing Parker, another creature of his own, in the vacant dignity.

VI. James still continued courting the Non-conformists, to concur with him in abolishing the penal laws and test*. On the other hand,

* Towards the Quakers, at least, another reason has been assigned for James's friendship and protection; namely, his

with the same view of introducing Popery, he was holding correspondence with the Apostolic chair. But Innocent continued to disapprove of his wild measures, and only sent a nuncio into England, who appointed four Vicars Apostolical, and dispersed a few pastoral letters. Although to correspond with the Pope had been made treason by Act of Parliament, James gave this nuncio a public reception at Windsor. While he thus, in various ways, exposed the hollowness of his professed liberality, Baxter and others of the more sensible Nonconformists, desirous as they were of the free exercise of their religion, apprehended the consequences of admitting Papists to the same privilege; and agreed that the King had no right to dispense with penal statutes by his simple prerogative.

1688. VII. Exasperated by so many acts of tyranny and folly, and justly alarmed for the downfall of religion and liberty, the leading members of the Church concerted measures with the Prince of Orange, for the exertion of his influence in obstructing the advancement of Popery, and for preventing the Dissenters from

personal attachment towards William Penn; who, though, from his correspondence with Tillotson, he was certainly no Catholic in disguise, as some have reported, as certainly went to Holland to persuade the Prince of Orange to fall in with the measures of James, in favour of that body.

coalescing with the court party. The King, irritated by the success of this scheme, and by the failure of his own design for gaining over the Nonconformists, now became still more violent from opposition, and by thus persisting in his infatuated councils, accelerated the period of his ruin*.

VIII. A new declaration in favour of liberty of conscience, promised larger indulgences to the Papists than the former had allowed: but when an order was issued for its being read in all parish churches, the leading clergy, and indeed the whole body, excepting 200, were determined to refuse compliance. It was promulgated in only seven of the London churches. A respectful petition, signed by the Primate and six Bishops, was presented to the King; professing no want of reverence for His Majesty's authority, or of inclination to favour the toleration of Dissenters, when determined on in Parliament and Convo-

* James attempted to convert the Princess of Orange to the Catholic faith; but she replied very sensibly, that it had never been fully settled where infallibility lay, whether in a Pope or in a Council; that she would take her faith on evidence, and not from dictation; and that St. Paul encouraged this resolution, by desiring those whom he addressed, to "judge what he said." The Monarch likewise essayed to proselytize the Prince, his son-in-law. So vain is it to trust, that a Catholic, who is quite in earnest, deeming all creeds but his own to be out of the pale of salvation, can abide by his promise of not attempting the conversion of others.

cation ; but signifying objections to the reading of the declaration, on the ground of the illegality of the dispensing power. On receiving this paper, the King exclaimed in rage, that they should feel what it was to disobey his mandates : and they retired from his presence, meekly, but resolutely, replying, “ The Lord’s will be done.” These confessors, whose names it would be unpardonable to omit, were Sancroft, Kenn, Lake, Turner, Lloyd, White, and Trelawney. They were sent to the Tower amidst the mingled cheers and lamentations of all orders of the people, who covered the banks of the river as they were carried along, imploring their blessing, and congratulating them upon the triumph of principle. Soon after, to the inexpressible satisfaction of the nation at large, these resolute divines were acquitted on being brought to trial. But not even this award of the law, and expression of the public sentiment, could bend the obstinacy, or dispel the infatuation of James. Too tyrannical in temper, too devoted to his Queen, too closely hemmed in by Jesuits, he altered not his conduct, nor would provide in time for his preservation.

IX. James earnestly wished to receive the sanction of the Prince of Orange, to his measures for suspending the test ; but he could only obtain from that prudent expectant of the throne the following remarkable answer : the

more remarkable, since it controverts the notable doctrine of modern politics, that every man is persecuted who is excluded from public offices : “The Prince and Princess give heartily their consent for repealing legally all the penal statutes ; as well those which have been enacted against the Catholics, as against the Protestant Nonconformists : yet the Test ought not to be considered as a penalty inflicted on the professors of any religion, but as a security provided for the established worship ; and it is no punishment on men to be excluded from offices, and to live peaceably on their own revenues or industry *.”

X. Forgetful of their differences, all parties, both civil and ecclesiastical, were now united in opposition to their Monarch. With the Whigs, he was an object of hatred as an arbitrary sovereign ; with the Tories, as he had forgotten their services and loyalty ; with the High-churchmen, as he was overthrowing the religion established in England ; and with the Nonconformists, as Popery was an abomination in their eyes †.

Though apprised of this prevailing odium, James enjoyed his dream of infatuation, till certified that the Prince of Orange, invited by the general voice of the nation, was preparing

* Hume.

† Sancroft, indeed, in a pastoral letter, advised his clergy to correspond with the Dissenters.

to invade his dominions. His confidence now forsook him, and in the countenances of his few adherents, he observed only the gloomy image of his own dismay. It was hastily resolved, that the ecclesiastical commission and dispensing power should be annulled; the Bishop of London and the Fellows of Magdalene College restored; licenses to Popish schoolmasters recalled; and the four Apostolical Vicars deprived of their authority: that the vacant sees should be filled; the city charter restored; and a free parliament summoned, which might settle the English church agreeably to the Act of Uniformity. These concessions, however, came too late. The Magdalene Fellows were, indeed, restored: but a report having reached London, that the invading fleet was dispersed, the act for their restoration was recalled. This insincerity secured the ruin of the King. William now arriving, published a declaration, enumerating the existing abuses, and promising protection to the constitution in church and state, with toleration to all dissenters from the established faith. This instrument was reinforced by a short paper, on the designs of the Prince's arrival, drawn up by Bishop Burnet.

XI. The reign of James the Second thus drew to a close. His counsellors, his army, his family, deserted him: and he withdrew into France, leaving a note upon his table, declaring,

that though he was about to search for foreign aid, he would never use it in overthrowing the laws or the established religion of his country. Whether this declaration were sincere, or not, his short reign affords a warning, how dangerous it is to permit a prince infected with Popish superstitions, to sway the English sceptre.

James had been early accustomed to the despotism of naval command; and it was probably this arbitrary dominion which inspired him with so sovereign a contempt for the opinions and the religious feelings of his subjects.

Nothing could exceed the infatuation of this inflexible bigot: the Catholics, whom he sought to establish, were not one hundredth part of the people; and the Dissenters, whom he courted, scarcely a twentieth.

The throne was now declared, in a convention of the English people, to be abdicated; and the Prince of Orange, with his wife Mary, were raised to the vacant seat. This event constitutes the glorious era of *the Revolution*; when the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions of these realms were both placed on a better and more liberal foundation.

XII. By a solitary Act of Parliament, relating to spiritual matters, passed during the sovereignty of James, it was appointed that each brother and sister should inherit equally, when a brother died intestate without wife or child.

XIII. HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX is the only English divine deserving of particular notice, under this brief reign. We pass by, however, his works in miscellaneous learning: The Life of Mahomet, The History of Appropriations, and The Right of Tythes, are now only occasionally referred to: but his opus maximum, *The Connections of the Old and New Testaments with History, Jewish and profane*, is a valuable and standard production, well deserving a place in the library of every clergyman.

XIV. All the ecclesiastical supremacy enjoyed by the Pope, was conceived to have devolved by the Reformation on the King: and though the last parliament of Charles the First, by preventing the sovereign, or convocation, from making canons without consent of the Legislature, had somewhat abridged this power, it was still formidably great. The suspending privilege, in regard to the Test, was yet maintained by the best lawyers. Whatever judgment may be passed on the Dissenters as a political body, the praise must not be withheld from them of having been, generally, sound in doctrine, severe in morals, constant in suffering, careful in the education of their children, and anxious for preserving an able and zealous body of ministers.

CHAPTER XV.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

Contents.

- I. *Battle of the Boyne, and Reduction of the Irish Catholics.*—II. *State of Parties: Passive Obedience and Non-resistance.*—III. *Temper of the Bishops and Clergy in taking the Oath of Allegiance.*—IV. *Nonjurors: New Bishops: Tillotson, Primate: High and Low Church.*—V. *Bill of Comprehension and Synod for altering the Liturgy, both rendered abortive.*—VI. *Toleration Act.*—VII. *Arguments respecting Non-resistance.*—VIII. *Character of Tillotson: Tennison, Primate.*—IX. *Trial of Bishop Watson for Simony.*—X. *Burnet assailed by the Tories.*—XI. *Deaths of James II. and William.*—XII. *Acts of Parliament.*—XIII. *Learned Divines.*—XIV. *Miscellaneous Matters: Society for propagating Christianity in foreign Parts.*

1689. I. IN the French war which followed the Revolution, Louis XIV. supplied James, the British ex-king, with a fleet for the invasion of Ireland. The people of that Catholic island received him with submission, excepting only the city of Londonderry; but William defeated the disturber of his reign on the banks of the Boyne, and compelled him to withdraw a se-

cond time to France. At the same juncture, the defeat of his friends at Killicrankie, conspired towards the total ruin of his cause. Soon after, the Irish rebels were entirely reduced: and by the treaty of Limerick, the Catholics were restored to the same rights and privileges as they had enjoyed under Charles II.; while 14,000 of the determined adherents to the cause of James were permitted to transport themselves to the Continent.

II. An abhorrence of republican principles had conducted many among the Bishops, and others of the High Church party, to the wild and extravagant doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, which, if received, would afford free encouragement to every tyrannical monarch to trample in security on the liberties of a people. Through adherence to these principles, and to the pride of consistency, only two prelates, Compton and Trelawney, united in the vote declaratory of James's abdication. Such, however, is the disposition of man to acquiesce in measures once established, that in the Convention Parliament, which met in January 1689, the Episcopal Bench appeared tolerably full, eight only having absented themselves.

III. To accommodate the tender consciences of the High Church party, the terms of the oath

of fealty were changed, from “true and lawful king,” into “bearing true faith and allegiance:” but even in taking the oath thus softened, it was found that many of their body made protestations of allegiance to the Prince of Orange, only as present possessor of the throne; still regarding the expatriated monarch as the rightful owner. Thus certain ecclesiastics retained their benefices by making a nice distinction between submission and allegiance, between a king *de jure* and *de facto*: a mental reservation dictated by base interest; the subtlety of a loose conscience, which, if once admitted to be right, would lead to the disregard or destroy the obligation of any oath however solemn.

IV. More highly to be commended were those prelates, who, in suffering the sentence of deposition, however mistaken may have been their principle, afforded at least a proof of their sincerity. These were Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, with seven Bishops of his province: namely; Lloyd of Norwich, Frampton of Gloucester, Thomas of Worcester, Turner of Ely, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Lake of Chichester, and White of Peterborough. It is to be observed, that the last four had, in the late reign, been sent to the Tower; men to be respected even in their errors, since not even a

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 6—11.

sense of injury could persuade them to renounce what they falsely deemed their duty of allegiance. The scruples of these eight recusant Bishops, all men eminent for piety and learning, being found insurmountable, they were deposed from their respective sees ; and Tillotson, Moore, Patrick, Kidder, Fowler, Cumberland, Beveridge, and Grove, not, certainly, inferior ornaments of the hierarchy, were installed in the vacant dignities *. A separate episcopal church, differing in regard to a few points of almost immaterial doctrine and form, was founded by the prelates and clergy thus deprived : and as each new congregation quickly obtains a distinctive name, they were denominated Nonjurors, from their refusal to take the oath of allegiance. It is a mistake, however (into which Mosheim has fallen), to ascribe to them exclusively the title of High Church ; since that appellation, implying an exalted notion of the authority, prerogative, and jurisdiction of the Church, belonged, and yet belongs, to many who never disputed the measures adopted by Parliament at the Revolu-

* Beveridge was promoted to the see of Bath and Wells ; Fowler, to Gloucester ; Cumberland, to Peterborough ; Moore, to Norwich ; Grove, to Chichester ; and Patrick, to Ely. These men, together with Tillotson, the Primate, were not appointed through court favour, but drawn from unambitious retirement, and selected for their eminent learning, wisdom, piety, virtue, and moderation.

tion. Neither is it correct to assert that the Low Church were those eminently distinguished by charity and moderation towards Dissenters. The true distinction between High and Low Church, relates to the indispensable-ness of regular powers towards the discharge of ecclesiastical functions, as well as towards the formation of a constituent part of Christ's visible church on earth.

The deprived nonjuring Bishops and their adherents maintained, that the Church was independent on the King and Parliament; subject to the authority of God alone, and empowered to govern itself by its own laws; that the sentence of their deposition was consequently unjust and invalid; and that a prelate could only be deprived by the act of an ecclesiastical council. These arguments found an able supporter in Henry Dodwell, who led the way to other champions, and whose abilities increased the numbers of the nonjuring dissentients. Dodwell had himself lost his Camdenian professorship in Oxford, for refusal of the oath of allegiance to William and Mary; and thus wrote with a zeal which had given proofs of its sincerity. His "Cautionary Discourse of Schism" was answered by Dr. Hody, in a treatise intitled, "The Unreasonableness of a Separation from the new Bishops." These two first darts being thus discharged, there afterwards ap-

peared in succession, agreeably to the established forms and pertinacious shuttlecock spirit of controversy, the Vindication, and the Reply to the Vindication; and the Defence of the Vindication, and the Reply to the Defence. In the mean time other disputants started up on both sides, and the action became general. That part of the question which respected the Nonjurors has died away with the expatriated and extinguished family: but the controversy as to the precise nature and authority of the visible Church, still divides the members of the ecclesiastical establishment.

That the High Church principles held at the period of the Revolution, materially differed from the sentiments which distinguish High and Low Church at the present day, an uncommenced statement of them will sufficiently manifest. The Nonjurors held the doctrine of passive obedience; maintaining that no provocation or pretext whatsoever can justify or legalize resistance to the sovereign. They conceived the hereditary succession to the throne to be of divine institution, and therefore on no account to be interrupted, suspended, or annulled. They held that the Church, especially in matters of a religious nature, is subject to the jurisdiction of God alone, and not of the civil magistrate: that consequently Sancroft and the other deprived Bishops, continued, under

deposition, "true Bishops" to the day of their death; that they were the lawful proprietors of their sees, in which those substituted were usurpers, rebels against the state, and schismatics in the Church; that their adherents were likewise chargeable with rebellion and schism; and, finally, that this schism, which rends the Church in pieces, was a sin against the unity of the body of Christ; to be visited with severity on all who would not return sincerely to the bosom of the Church from which they had dis-severed themselves*.

V. As a provision for the prelates and clergy impoverished by deprivation, the King was invested with a power of reserving a certain portion from the incomes of any twelve benefices he might select for the purpose. William, anxious to conciliate the Dissenters, endeavoured to abolish the sacramental test; but the *Bill of Comprehension*, which included a dispensation from kneeling at the sacrament, encountering various obstacles, fell to the ground.

Tillotson and Burnet (the latter created Bishop of Sarum †) admonished the King on this

* Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, vol. i. p. 30. Hickes's *Memoirs of Kettlewell*. Masson, *Hist. Critique de la Répub. des Lettres*, tom. xiii. p. 298.

† Sancroft had refused to consecrate Burnet; but fearful of incurring a premunire, granted a commission for that purpose to the Bishop of London.

failure, to submit the business of comprehension to a synod of divines, as being the method at once the most acceptable to the clergy, and the best calculated to silence the Popish objectors, who sneered at a religion established by Acts of Parliament. Thirty divines (among whom we find the names of Tillotson, Tennison, Patrick, Burnet, Stillingfleet, and Kidder) were accordingly directed to prepare such alterations as they should judge expedient in the Liturgy and Canons, with proposals for reformation in ecclesiastical courts, and in other matters relative to the Church; all which were first to be submitted to Convocation, and afterwards reconsidered in Parliament*. After four divines of this committee had withdrawn in dissatisfaction, the remainder proposed that canonical lessons should be read in churches instead of the Apocryphal books, and the Athanasian Creed left at the option of the officiating minister; that new Collects †, more glowing in devotion, should be drawn up, and a new version of the Psalms prepared; that the chanting in cathedrals should be discontinued, and legendary

* Nicholls's Apparatus, p. 95. Calamy's Abridgment, vol. i. p. 453.

† Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, and Burnet, had prepared these Collects; Kidder made a new version of the Psalter; and Tennison substituted new words for expressions objected to in the Liturgy.

saints expunged from the calendar; that the cross in baptism, the surplice, and the posture of kneeling at the sacrament, should not in future be insisted on; that the word Minister should be introduced in the place of Priest; that fasts in Lent should not consist in abstinence from meats; and that sponsors in baptism should not be held essential. They submitted, that reordination, where presbyters had imposed hands, should be conditional; and pronounced the damnatory clause in the Athanasian Creed to be applicable only to those who denied the substance of the Christian religion. Among these proposed changes, a few might perhaps be expedient; others were useless; and many highly objectionable. But the Tories so far succeeded in alarming the public mind, that little could be expected from Convocation by the schemers of this conciliatory plan. No disposition being manifested by that body to innovate in the forms of the Church, or to meet the Nonconformists with concessions, "the King," says Neale, "seeing they would do no good, prevented them from doing mischief, by prorogations for a course of ten years." He adds, in his old way, that the Bill of Comprehension would have brought over three fourths of the Dissenters.

We cannot regret that the scheme proved thus abortive; for, however desirable compre-

hension may be held, it is not to be purchased by the sacrifice of important points. A church having a discipline varying with its parishes, or yielding to each idle, capricious objection of Dissenters, in the vain hope of conciliating those who would regard each concession as an acknowledgment of weakness and a symptom of fear, on which they might rise to fresh encroachments and demands, could have neither harmony nor stability. No man could tell for two days together, or in two parts of the same country, what was the precise belief and discipline of his church. If points of difference be essential, they ought on no account to be conceded: and if otherwise, the Dissenters ought, as good subjects, to conform. As to kneeling at the sacrament and the cross in baptism, they were then, as formerly, mere pretences; and they would perhaps have been granted, had any real good been foreseen from such concession*.

VI. Foiled in this attempt, William was ne-

* One cause of the failure of this Bill of Comprehension was the temporizing conduct of many among the clergy, who silently permitted the six months allowed for taking the oaths to pass by, and thus retained their livings; for it was feared, that the Nonjurors might increase their party with these malcontents, by professing a friendship to the old Liturgy in opposition to the new one.

The King was willing to remove the sacramental test, in regard to eligibility to offices of trust, as far as related to Dissenters; but he continued resolute in the exclusion of Papists.

vertheless successful in his endeavours to relieve Dissenters from the operation of the Act of Uniformity, and other laws passed under the Stewart dynasty, which was effected by the celebrated *Toleration Act*. By this bill, no penal laws for punishing absence from the church could operate against Dissenters, provided they took the oaths to government, subscribed the doctrinal articles of the Church, worshipped with open doors, and paid tithes, with other parochial duties. They were farther permitted to serve parish offices by deputy*. This Act was extended to Anabaptists and Quakers, who were simply required to profess belief in the Trinity and the Holy Scriptures. Even Catholics, though not mentioned, reaped in this Act the benefit of William's tolerant disposition†. The Socinians were alone excluded. This Act has enabled Nonconformists to worship God unmolested, agreeably to their several views; but it has generated or encouraged that endless variety of religious sects, and

* Vide Neale, vol. iv. Appendix. Burnet's Own Times, vol. ii. p. 23.

† "The King," says Burnet, vol. iii. p. 16, "advised gentleness towards the Papists, lest they should stir up a new league; nor could he protect the Protestants in Germany, &c. if he did not cover from severities the Catholics at home. Thus the Papists secretly enjoyed the benefits of the Toleration Act."

those capricious subdivisions of opinion in matters of faith, which have converted England into a religious Babel, and, by furnishing an occasion of sarcastic reproach, form no slight obstacle to the advance of the reformed doctrines in Catholic countries.

The benefits of the Act of Toleration were extended to the Church of Scotland, which was permitted to follow the ecclesiastical discipline of Geneva; being thus exempted from episcopal jurisdiction, and from the forms of worship prescribed by the English Liturgy. The Corporation and Test Acts, having been omitted in the Bill, remain still in force.

VII. 1691. While William was thus endeavouring to reconcile religious differences, the Ex-bishops continued, in many angry publications, to maintain the doctrine of non-resistance, expecting to be hailed with the same acclamations which had crowned their conscientious sufferings during the late reign. They were answered by their successors in the prelacy; who endeavoured to turn their own doctrine against themselves, by affirming that the duty of "subjection to the powers that be," enjoined the taking of oaths to the new government. But it was ably replied, that this principle would extend to the renunciation of all oaths of submission, and to continual acknowledgment of the last among twenty usurpers; like the spaniel who would follow the

murderer of his master. This acrimony was particularly retorted against Sherlock, who had been formerly one of the bitterest enemies of the Revolution, but had taken the oaths on the accession of William. As the chief aim of these attacks made by the Nonjuring party, was to depreciate and discredit the existing government, a proclamation was issued, enjoining magistrates to apprehend all who should disseminate sedition, whether by their writings or discourses. Thus, as often happens, was the violence of opposition converted into the tyranny of power; and the friends of the Revolution opposed those principles on which they had acted, and those measures which had brought their scheme to perfection.

VIII. 1694. It was desirable, on the deprivation of Sancroft, that so important a station as the Primacy should be occupied by a man of moderate views; and Tillotson was prevailed on, though with some difficulty, to accept an office, which he foresaw would greatly disquiet the tranquillity of his declining years. But though well adapted by his mildness to heal the prevalent dissensions in religion, the High Tory party, asserting the invalidity of parliamentary deprivation, regarded him in the light of an usurper. This opposition preyed deeply on his spirits, and the short space of two years released him from his disquietudes.

So much was Tillotson impoverished by his bounties and charities, that his debts, when he died, could only be discharged by the remission of his first-fruits: while a pension from the King was found necessary for the subsistence of his widow. His vacated chair was well supplied by Dr. Tennison, whose similarity of character had long been publicly acknowledged.

IX. 1699. Watson, Bishop of St. David's, having been accused of simoniacal practices, in paying a valuable consideration for his preferment, and disposing of ecclesiastical benefices, was tried before the Primate, and six other Bishops, by whom he was convicted and deprived. He now pleaded his privilege, which at first he had waved, and thus brought his cause before the House of Lords; but that body refused to acknowledge him as a peer; alleging that he had forfeited his dignity by his deprivation. His next appeal was to the Court of Delegates, who confirmed the sentence of the Archbishop. The cause was now espoused by the Jacobite party, to which he belonged. They took exception against the jurisdiction of the Archbishop, who, they affirmed, could not sit in judgment on a Bishop, save only in a synod composed of all the bishops in his province. On the other hand, it was shown, that from the ninth century, both Popes and Princes had placed this authority in the hands of the Arch-

bishop ; and that, at the Reformation, this power had been confirmed. In this manner does a question of pure right and wrong become involved in party contests ; and it was perhaps more owing to the worthless character of Watson, incapable of defence or gloss, than to acquiescence in the justice of these arguments, that his friends silently dropped the dispute.

X. With a view to mortify William, the Tories next assailed Bishop Burnet ; whom they represented as an improper tutor for the Duke of Gloucester ; not only as being a Scotsman, but likewise as author of that Pastoral Letter in which he had asserted that William had a right to the crown by conquest. The motion, however, for his dismissal was rejected. It appeared that this prelate had acted with the strictest integrity ; having at first declined the trust ; then offered to resign his bishopric as incompatible with it ; and at length insisted on his pupil's residing all the summer within the diocese of Sarum ; while he added to his private charities the whole income of his office as preceptor. Such was Burnet ; such the man characterized by Smollett as a prelate of some parts and great industry, inquisitive, meddling, vain, and credulous. In the case of Sir John Fenwick, however, in 1696, he delivered sentiments contradictory to his former maxims of liberty.

XI. James II. died A. D. 1700, Louis promising that his son should be appointed heir to all the British dominions. The expiring parent is said to have raised himself in his bed, to thank his royal benefactor. The young Prince was proclaimed King of Britain and Ireland; an honour, which only served to unite the discordant parties in determined opposition to his claims. William, A. D. 1702, followed the prince whom he had dispossessed, to their common mansion.

XII. *Acts of Parliament* were passed in this reign, to admit, instead of an oath, the solemn affirmation of the Quakers; to effect the more easy recovery of small tithes; and to prevent marriages without banns or license. Benefices in the gift of Papists, were placed in the patronage of the Universities; those in the south being assigned to Oxford, and those in the north to Cambridge. Ministers flying from the disturbed state of Ireland, were rendered capable of holding any English living, without forfeiting their former preferments; on condition however, that, in the event of their restoration to their first benefice, that in England should be forfeited.

XIII. The reign of William III. is remarkable for the deaths of two eminent divines, CUDWORTH and STILLINGFLEET. Cudworth, professor of Hebrew in Cambridge, has left behind

him several minor publications: on the Sacrament, as a Feast upon a Sacrifice; on Liberty and Necessity; and on Daniel's Seventy Weeks. His famous work, "The true intellectual System of the Universe," was written in refutation of Hobbes's position, that the distinction between right and wrong is only perceived by considering, that what benefits society, must be indirectly of service to ourselves; and that the laws of the magistrate are the ultimate standards of morality. In the Intellectual System, it is contended that there is an immutable distinction betwixt right and wrong, as betwixt truth and falsehood; and that reason is equally the umpire in both cases. *Hutchinson* afterwards referred the origin of our moral ideas to a particular perception, which he termed the moral sense.

Stillington's first work was the *Origines Sacrae*; or, A rational Account of the Grounds of natural and revealed Religion; in which he exhibited great depth of erudition and power of argument. This admirable production, published in 1662, obtained for the author so much esteem in the learned world, that when a reply appeared, in the year following, to Laud's work against Fisher the Jesuit, he was appointed to answer it, a task which he ably performed. He soon obtained various preferments in London and Canterbury, and on being made Dean of

St. Paul's, engaged in several controversies with the Deists, Socinians, Papists, and Dissenters. But a life passed in the boiling water of controversy, is far from being a life of comfort. Afterwards, when Bishop of Worcester, Stillingfleet proposed objections to several positions in the celebrated *Essay* of Locke; and was replied to by that metaphysician in a vein of irony, which is reported to have hastened his end, 1699. His epitaph in Worcester Cathedral is written by BENTLEY, who was at that time his chaplain.

LLOYD, Bishop of Worcester, as though he loved to ride on the billow that hath scarce subsided after the storm, distinguished his zeal at this period by several excellent tracts against Popery. In answer to Blondell's Treatise against Episcopacy, he likewise wrote a History of the primitive Government of the Churches established in England and Ireland; in which the story of an ancient Scottish church, founded without episcopacy by monks called Culdees in the second or third century, is proved to be fabulous. Bishop Burnet represents Lloyd as a learned classical scholar, an historian, and a chronologist; yet carrying a concordance of the Scriptures in his mind, and never neglectful of his pastoral care*. The chief materials, and the last polish of the History of the Reformation, were confessedly supplied by this prelate.

* Own Times, vol. i. p. 265.

BURNET, a Scotsman, deeply versed in every branch of theology, diligent as a parish priest, assailing the lukewarmness of the Scottish Bishops, and eminent as Professor of Divinity in Glasgow, was afterwards conspicuous as an active English prelate, and learned ecclesiastical writer. His *History of the Reformation* is a valuable mine of intelligence, and received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. Burnet had, in 1676, refused the bishopric of Chichester, tendered on condition of his coming entirely into the royal interest. Many anecdotes evince the genuine disinterestedness of his character. His *History of his own Times* exhibits minute and faithful details; but the style is awkward, and his accumulations of indiscriminate incident are unreadably heavy. The leaning of Burnet to the Low Church party is as manifest as Heylin's contrary bias. The *Account of Rochester** is an interesting and useful example of the conversion of an infidel to belief, and of a profligate to decency.

Burnet, in politics, had a considerable share in the Revolution; and his latter History might well have been preceded by the motto *Quorum pars magna fui*. His *Pastoral Care* is an excellent rule for the duties of a parish priest, and was

* Rochester's Life, by Burnet, says Johnson, the critic ought to read for its elegance, the philosopher for its arguments, and the saint for its piety.

fully realized by himself, both in his capacities of private minister and of Bishop. His *Treatise on the Thirty-nine Articles* nearly exhausts the subject. In his illustration of the 17th, he has unfolded the whole strength of the Calvinist and Arminian controversy, without inclining to either side. He died in the year 1714.

The History of his own Times was assailed by Pope and Swift;

Yet Burnet's page may lasting glory hope,

Howe'er insulted by the spleen of Pope :

Though his rough language haste and warmth denote,

With ardent honesty of soul he wrote.

The critic censures on his work may shower ;

Like faith, his freedom has a saving power.

LOCKE, who flourished in this reign, deserves a place among its constellation of divines, by reason of his *Letters on Toleration*, and his *Reasonableness of Christianity*. Toland and some Unitarians availed themselves of several passages in his *Essay on the Human Understanding*, to assert that Christianity contained nothing above human comprehension. This circumstance induced Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, in his *Defence of the Trinity*, to assail some passages in the *Essay*, as subverting the fundamental principles of the Christian faith ; an attack which occasioned a controversy that only termi-

nated with that Prelate's death, which, as has just been said, it is believed to have hastened.

Bishop KENN is chiefly known as the author of the *Morning and Evening Hymns*, still sung in all our churches. He used to travel with his shroud in his portmanteau. He wrote an Exposition of the Church Catechism, and Prayers for the use of Winchester College.

Of BAXTER we have already unfolded the character, and mentioned many of the writings. His *Call to the Unconverted* is his best-known work, among all the 145 Treatises which he published. Of this, 20,000 were sold in one year; and it was translated into all the European languages. His "*Saints' everlasting Rest*" has diminished in popularity. Baxterianism is a medium between the Calvinistic and Arminian systems, asserting some to be absolutely elected, and the rest left free in their choice.

CHANDLER, another eminent Dissenter, wrote a *Vindication of the Christian Religion*, and entered deeply into the controversy on the Test and Subscriptions. FLAVEL, also a devout Nonconformist, lives in his *Husbandry and Navigation spiritualized*.

The *Sermons of Archbishop Tillotson* were long regarded as models of pulpit oratory, pure language, vigorous thought, and happy simplicity; a praise to which both Addison and Dryden subscribed. But Melmoth, in his Fitz-

osborne's Letters, detracts from these eulogies, by styling his words ill-chosen, his periods inharmonious, and his metaphors mean; nor is the criticism altogether unjust. Tillotson took a zealous part in the outcry against Popery.

Swift is more known as a wit than as a divine. His *Tale of a Tub* is an excellent satire on the Catholic superstition; and he has left a few Sermons, of no peculiar merit. He wrote on Religion and Government, and on the Sacramental Test. His Argument against the Abolition of Christianity, exhibits a specimen of his admirable grave irony.

Bishop *Hare* published a few Sermons, now forgotten, and a Treatise on Hebrew Metre, which Lowth refuted. His chief work, on the Difficulties attending the Study of the Scriptures, is an excellent specimen of ironical writing.

Samuel Clarke wrote many admirable Sermons, in which the reasoning is close and strong; and likewise a Paraphrase on the Four Gospels; but he is suspected, and with reason, of Semiarrianism. He opposed Hobbes, by proving the existence of a Deity, in the *à priori* demonstration. This work was a digest of his Sermons at Boyle's Lecture. The more orthodox and excellent WATERLAND checked his movements, in various defences of the Trinity, as able as any that have been written.

A variety of polemical works proceeded from the pen of DODWELL, who seems to have loved the element of hot water. He spouted forth treatises against the Roman Catholics on the one hand, and defended episcopal government, in controversy with the Nonconformists, on the other. He wrote a Dissertation on Irenæus, and attacked Toland, who had replied to it. He was an enemy to occasional conformity, and spent several years in pointing out its evils.

XIV. The *Society for propagating Christianity in foreign Parts** had been originally instituted by an Act of Parliament, A. D. 1647: but the civil commotions ensuing, the execution of that project was suspended, until the year 1661, in the reign of Charles II. King William in 1701 enriched that valuable establishment with new donations and privileges. Under the bounty and protection of succeeding monarchs, it has continued to dispense the glorious light of truth to nations which sat in darkness; and is to this day, by the orthodox and rational zeal with which it is managed, not less than by the piety of its missionaries and usefulness of its publications, an essential instrument in the hand of Providence for diffusing the knowledge of God over most parts of the habitable globe. As emulation is ever a spring

* See Humphreys's Account.

to improvement, this institution has recently been incited to exertions of fresh activity, by the rise and prosperity of the Bible Society, an association, professing objects less multifarious, but more diffusive, and latterly regarded as an engine in the hands of dissent.

In this reign, a Society was likewise instituted for the Reformation of public Manners. The members informed the magistrates of all irregularities; and a fund for maintaining clergymen to read prayers in different places, was established out of the fines.

1698. A violent controversy, which arose among divines, concerning the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, induced the King to direct that the Bishops should repress error and heresy, and watch against the introduction of new terms, and unaccredited explanations of holy mysteries.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE REIGN OF ANNE.

Contents.

- I. *State of religious Parties.*—II. *Convocation. The Lower House disavows Presbyterianism.*—III. *Bill against occasional Conformity.*—IV. *Debate on the Question, Whether the Church was in Danger.*—V. *Trial of Dr. Sacheverell.*—VI. *Controversy between Atterbury and Hoadly.*—VII. *Convocation inquires into the State of Religion.*—VIII. *Whiston's Arian Work.*—IX. *Fleetwood's Preface burnt.*—X. *Queen Anne's Bounty.*—XI. *Fifty Churches built.*—XII. *State of Preaching.*—XIII. *Ireland and Scotland.*—XIV. *Acts of Parliament.*—XV. *Learned and pious Divines.*

I. **T**HE Catholics being now rendered quiet by a defeat of their hopes of ascendancy, and the sectaries satisfied with a general toleration, the Church of England rested after the storm, like the ark on the summit of Mount Ararat. This repose was lightly ruffled by the discontent of the Nonjurors, and the internal struggle between the High and Low Church parties. But the bitterness with which these oppositions in sentiment were maintained, was now much abated.

II. 1702. In Convocation, a warm dispute was agitated, respecting the right of the Lower

House to hold intermediate assemblies, between one general session and another. The Upper House expressed a willingness to consent to their having committees, who might sit at any time to arrange and prepare matters; but insisted on the power of the Archbishop, with the consent of his Prelates, to prorogue the whole Convocation. A proposal was made by the inferior House, to refer the decision to the Queen; but rejected by the Prelates as compromising the authority of the Archbishop. The argument was spiced with a charge of favouring Presbyterianism, directed against the Lower House; which they repelled, by acknowledging bishops to be a superior order to priests, and of divine or apostolical institution. This whole controversy was, in fact, a speculative question betwixt the clerical Whigs and Tories; and it is singular to observe the former of these parties seeking to vest an additional power in the Crown, while the advocates of passive obedience dispute its paramount authority*.

* In several following convocations, this dispute was revived; but though the Lower House had referred it to the Crown, the Queen took part against them in 1705, and directed the Archbishop to prorogue the Convocation. The obnoxious party now stood upon their rights, and continued their sittings in defiance of Her Majesty's orders. In 1707, that they might not object to the Union, the Archbishop prorogued the Convocation in the midst of the session of Parliament. This was unjustly complained of as an innovation; the two assemblies being

III. 1703. Though Anne, suspecting the Dissenters of designs to overthrow the Church, conceived them to have been too indulgently treated by her predecessor, she forbore to retrench the privileges they had obtained. Yet, as it was customary for many to receive the sacrament as a test, which might qualify them for civil offices intended only for Churchmen, while they united with the Nonconformists in all other religious exercises; as a check to this temporizing baseness, an attempt was made by the Tories to revive the bill against occasional conformity, which Burnet has termed a scheme of the Papists to set the Church and other Protestants at variance. In three several years it was successfully opposed; although, in 1704, the debate in the House of Lords was attended by the Queen in person, who wished to hear the arguments on both sides recapitulated. At

conceived of equal life; for, precedents were found for the sitting of Convocation, both before and after the session of Parliament, and even when the civil Senate was dissolved. The Tory party thus obtaining an ascendancy, Sir William Dawes and Dr. Blackhall received the bishoprics of Chester and Exeter.

In subsequent meetings of Convocation, they were prorogued by the Archbishop from time to time; and the Lower House was thus converted into a nonentity. Yet, as these prorogations were by command of the Crown, they saw the partial triumph of their principle: which was afterwards rendered complete by the work of Archbishop Wake.

length, on the fourth trial, the Whigs permitted it to pass, in consequence of the clauses for tolerating Nonconformity, and securing the Protestant succession, with which it was rendered palatable.

IV. 1705. In the collision of the High and Low Church parties, a cry of "The Church is in danger!" was raised, probably by the adherents of both. This question was debated by the Lords, in presence of the Sovereign; and any one who should collect the various arguments employed, might well believe that, if they were all true, the Church was indeed in danger. Lord Rochester ascribed the danger to the Act of Security in Scotland, and the practice of occasional conformity. In the opinion of Compton, Bishop of London, it arose from profaneness, irreligion, and the licentiousness of the press. By His Grace of York the danger of the Church was referred to the increase of sectaries, and the number of their academies; while Patrick of Ely, and Hough of Litchfield and Coventry, complained of the neglect of internal order, the disrespect of the clergy for their bishops, and the violent passion displayed against the Universities. In the rear, came Hooper of Bath and Wells, lamenting the distinctions of High and Low Church, and the disagreement of the clergy among themselves. The phalanx of opposition consisted of the Lords Halifax,

Wharton, and Somers, assisted by Bishop Burnet. This prelate replied to Compton, that the Society for Reformation had much contributed to the suppression of irreligion and vice, by dispersing tracts, erecting parochial libraries, founding schools, and sending ministers to the colonies; "though," added he, "these labours receive not much countenance from those who clamour the loudest about the dangers of the Establishment." After a warm discussion, the question was negatived; a resolution in which the Commons agreed; and at the joint petition of both Houses, a proclamation was issued, ordering the apprehension of those who had been instrumental in exciting the clamour*.

V. 1709. That the pretended alarms for an endangered Church originated in party spirit, is evident from the notice taken of Dr. Sacheverell, Rector of St. Saviour's, Southwark,

* In 1707, Elias Marian, John Cavalier, and Davand Fage, three Camisars, or Protestants, from the Cevennois, having arrived in London, attracted notice, by wild attacks on the Established Clergy, convulsive gestures, and pretensions to prophecy. Although they were discountenanced by the French refugees, who acted under the authority of the Bishop of London, they continued to hold their assemblies in Soho, under the patronage of Sir Richard Bulkeley and John Lacy. Being prosecuted at the expense of the French churches, they were sentenced to pay a fine of twenty marks each, and to stand twice on a scaffold, at Charing Cross and the Royal Exchange, with labels on their breasts describing their offence.

a man who ought certainly to have been despised and overlooked for poverty of intellect and inflamed imagination. In a sermon, preached at St. Paul's on the fifth of November, he had inveighed against the ministry, the Dissenters, and the Low Church; against toleration, the Revolution, and the Union; while he asserted the doctrines of non-resistance, and the divine right of kings. This sermon, entitled, *The Perils of false Brethren*, being printed, although a worthless composition, and allowed, even by the Tories, to be a rhapsody of raving and nonsense, gave offence to the ministry, who complained of it to the Commons; in consequence of which, the preacher was taken into custody and impeached. After a solemn trial, which lasted three weeks, Atterbury, Smallridge, and Friend, assisting in the defence*, he was declared guilty, and suspended for three years. His sermon was burnt before the Lord Mayor, in whose presence it had been delivered; and another book of the author's, with a decree of the University of Oxford, on the indefeasible right of kings, were consigned to the same bonfire.

This sentence of the Peers, designed as a punishment, was converted by the heat of party into a triumph. On proceeding to North Wales, the preacher was everywhere, but particularly

* Sacheverell, in his will, left Atterbury 500*l*.

in Oxford, greeted with the honours due to a conqueror. In some places troops of horse lined the road, and the corporations went forth to meet him; in others, the hedges were festooned with garlands, the steeples decorated with standards, flags, and colours; and every man was marked out for vengeance and aggression, who refused to raise the cry of "The Church and Sacheverell." At the expiration of his suspension, in 1713, these popular congratulations were renewed; he was requested to preach before the Commons, and the Queen presented him to the living of St. Andrew's, Holborn. The punishment and exaltation of so weak and contemptible an instrument were alike disgraceful to the opposite parties in the state.

VI. If we could believe the account given by the High Churchmen of themselves, we should acknowledge their objects to have been moderate and laudable. These, according to Atterbury, were "to see all proper steps taken towards reviving decayed discipline, and restoring church censures to their former due force and credit; towards detecting and defeating clandestine simoniacal contracts; securing the rights and revenues of the clergy from encroachments; rescuing their persons and sacred functions from contempt; and freeing religion itself from the insults now made upon it by blasphemous

tongues and pens." But, unfortunately, such aims at improvement were mingled with the bitterness of party spirit. Atterbury and Hoadly disputed with all the gall of controversy on various subjects, but principally on passive obedience. At the time of Sacheverell's trial, the House of Commons resolved, that Hoadly had merited their favour and recommendation, by justifying the principles on which the Sovereign and the nation proceeded in the late happy revolution; in consequence of which, Her Majesty was besought to confer on him some ecclesiastical dignity. To this request, made in the spirit of party, the Queen paid no regard.

VII. 1711. The Tories, whose leader was Oxford, the Prime Minister, prevailing at this time in the Cabinet, Atterbury was chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation. This body, now indulged in greater latitude of debate, was directed by the Queen to inquire into the state of infidelity and heresy, with a view to the adoption of corrective measures. In the appointment of a Committee, the Whig prelates were passed by, as supporters of the late ministry; and when Atterbury prepared a remonstrance conveying a keen invective on the administration of affairs since the Revolution, these excluded Bishops composed a more temperate address.

VIII. Both, however, concurred in passing

a censure on the Arian doctrines, recently broached by Whiston, Professor of Mathematics in Cambridge. Having been expelled that University, Whiston provoked the notice of the Convocation, in a letter, vindicating his principles. Their proceedings, however, terminated only in this denunciation on his book; a sentence which highly dissatisfied the Queen. He now published, in four volumes, his "Primitive Christianity revived," wherein he not only justified his principles with boldness, but maintained that the Apostolical Constitutions, which he had translated, were canonical, and superior in authority to the Epistles and Gospels.

IX. 1712. This year, a Preface to four political Sermons, preached by Bishop Fleetwood, an enemy of the Tory ministry, came under the cognizance of the House of Commons, who voted it to be factious, and resolved that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. This attempt to suppress the work served only to increase its publicity, and was, doubtless, the origin of its publication in the Spectator (No. 384).

X. From these views of the factious contentions which disgraced this reign, let us turn to some transactions, which all will admit to be an honour to it. The first is that act of generosity performed by the Queen, of which the Church at this day experiences

the advantages, in the increased comforts of its poorer ministers. Anne, with consent of Parliament, alienated that branch of her revenue which arose from the first fruits and tenths paid by the clergy, and vested it in trustees for the augmentation of small livings. The trustees of Queen Anne's Bounty add 100*l.* to each 100*l.* offered by private donors for the augmentation of any small living or perpetual curacy; the joint sums being appointed to be expended in the purchase of land. With a view to forward this laudable object, the statute of mortmain was about the same time repealed (1703) so far as to leave it free for any person, either by deed or testament, to bestow what he judged proper for the increase of benefices. Burnet is said to have been the author of this project; but prejudices against his country and his Low Church principles withheld the regard which he seemed well to have merited*.

* A deed of money is ordered to be executed on a 5*s.* stamp and enrolled in Chancery; and it is void if the testator dies within twelve calendar months, unless he had paid down a year's interest of the sum. The governors are to keep four yearly courts in London or Westminster, in March, June, September, and December; giving public notice fourteen days before. They are to inquire what ministers have less than 80*l.*; whether in town or country; whether the incumbent have more than one living. The augmentation is made by purchase, and not by pension. The stated sum to each cure is 200*l.* to be invested in a purchase at the expense of

II. The other excellent arrangement for the benefit of religion was a bill passed by the

the corporation. In augmenting, the rise is from small to greater livings. They give 200*l.* to livings not exceeding 45*l.* to meet the like sums given by private donation. The accounts are audited at Christmas and Easter. If several benefactors offer, the Governors are first to comply with those who offer most: if the sums offered be equal, to prefer the poorer living. The cures and benefactions being equal in value, the first offer is preferred; but not more than one third of the money is to be employed in covering above 20*l.* in value. No benefactions are to be received after Michaelmas; and if any money remains, it goes to augment the Crown livings under 10*l.* and also to other livings under 10*l.* by lot. The rise is from 20*l.* to 30*l.* value. Donations are to be distributed according to the direction of the donor. A book of donations is kept. The augmentations of each cure to be mentioned on a stone in the church augmented. Money received is to be placed in the funds: the treasurer accounts annually. Parsons whose cures are augmented are to pay no fee. Benefices not exceeding 50*l.* in their *improved* value, are discharged from first fruits and tenths. The Bishops are to transmit lists of the value of their livings to the Governors. Agreements with benefactors respecting the nomination are to be valid. Guardians may agree for idiot wards. A parson may not agree but with consent of the patron and ordinary. The wife shall be a party to an agreement made by her husband seised in her right. The Governors may agree with the patrons or vicars for augmented stipends, in case of augmentation by lot. An augmentation once given is to be perpetual. Benefices of every kind augmented are perpetual cures; and lapse may hence incur. Donatives augmented become subject to the jurisdiction and visitation of the Bishop, and to the residence laws. Lands settled by the augmentation may be exchanged

Commons, in compliance with a message from the Queen, and an address from the lower House of Convocation, for the building of fifty new churches in the suburbs of London and Westminster; which appropriated to the purpose of defraying the expense the duty upon coals, which had formerly been granted for the building of St. Paul's, a structure now completed. This imposition was directed to be continued until 350,000*l.* should be raised.

XII. Sermons, however they may have degenerated in depth and substance, partook, in point of composition, of the improvements in taste which were introduced at the beginning

with consent of the Governors, Incumbent, Patron, and Ordinary. A register of all matters relative to the augmentation is kept.

Livings capable of Augmentation.

1071	not exceeding 10 <i>l.</i>	admit	of 6 augmentations	6426
1467	———— 20 <i>l.</i>	——	4 ———	5868
1126	{ above 20 <i>l.</i> and not exceeding 30 <i>l.</i>	} ———	3 ———	3378
1049	{ above 30 <i>l.</i> and not exceeding 40 <i>l.</i>	} ———	2 ———	2098
884	{ above 40 <i>l.</i> and not exceeding 50 <i>l.</i>	} ———	1 ———	884

So that in all there are 5597 under 50*l.* requiring in all 18,654 augmentations before they amount to 50*l.* each: and if 55 augmentations take place yearly, it will be 339 years from 1714, or 239 years from the present date, before these livings be all augmented to 50*l.* Let any man, after this statement, revile the Church of England as extravagant in the support of her ministry.

of the eighteenth century. The honest reformers, in their pulpit oratory, were distinguished by a quaint style and an awkward arrangement. Familiar illustration and an ill-timed jingle of words were employed to give a zest to tedious prolixity and endless subdivisions. A bold and nervous, but not a highly polished eloquence, was the characteristic of the Puritan preachers. Under the gay and sprightly reign of the second Charles, *South* founded a school remarkable for witty points and fanciful allusions; which gave way, in the early part of the reign of Queen Anne, to the chaster language and more elegant periods of *Tillotson* and *Atterbury*. Yet, for force and effect, for strength and sublimity, for sound divinity incorporated in the rough but nervous eloquence of Demosthenes, for what convinces, impels, captivates, and exalts, it is to a different class of divines that we are to turn our eyes. From the reign of Elizabeth to the beginning of the eighteenth century, a race of Anakims in theology transmitted to each other, under every change of government, their muscular and giant strength: these were, *Jewel*, *Hooker*, *Andrews*, *Hall*, *Leighton*, *Jeremy Taylor*, *Barrow*, *Beveridge*, and *Bull*. These are the mighty masters, the Ajaxes and Achilles's, of each of whom the single arm is vigorous as that of nine in these degenerate days: these

are the Isaiahs, the Homers, the Michael Angelos, and the Bossuets of England. What Milton, Shakspeare, Bacon, Bentley were in literature, that were these in theology. Their writings are the mines in which, even at the present day, our ablest preachers and disputants dig for their hidden treasures. He who is familiar with these admirable productions, will often recognise them, disguised with tautology, tricked out with absurdities, or emasculated with pretticipisms, in hotpressed sermons, and in stove-warmed chapels. A Blair decks himself out in their spoils without acknowledgment: a lecturer with their aid carries his election at the Foundling; and a head, a subdivision, a recapitulation of one of these discourses is woven into a pithy argument at St. Mary's.

XIII. In Ireland, though the Protestants were too intolerant, the Catholics were not less unruly; insomuch that in some places it was dangerous to collect their tithes. While an Article of the Union had protected the establishment of the Presbyterian discipline in Scotland, an Act of the United Parliament, in 1712, secured an unrestrained worship to the Episcopalian Dissenters, who now began to erect chapels; though, being chiefly Nonjurors, they were looked upon with some distrust.

XIV. The chief Acts of Parliament passed in the reign of Anne, connected with re-

ligion, and not already mentioned, were one for protecting the Protestant children of Jews; several relating to wills, briefs, stamps, and mortuaries; one for allowing qualified Dissenting preachers to officiate in any part of the country; another for permitting hackney coachmen to ply on the Lord's day; and another for enabling Papists to nominate to benefices.

XV. This reign produced writers on general subjects in theology, highly creditable to the Church of England. WAKE'S *State of the Church* settled the question respecting the power of the prince over ecclesiastical synods within his realm. Bishop *Patrick's* Commentary on the Old Testament as far as the Prophets, holds a place in every private clergyman's library, as forming a series with the other valuable expositions of Lowth, Arnald, Whitby, and Lowman. *Beveridge's Private Thoughts*, *Bull's Harmonia Apostolica*, and *Cave's Lives of the Apostles*, are all of them classical works. If *Bishop Burnet's* History of the Reformation and of his own Times partake of the political prejudices of the writer, no exception can be made against those two invaluable works on the *Thirty-nine Articles* and the *Pastoral Care*, which belong more particularly to his clerical functions. Among the religious writers whose names adorned the reign of Queen Anne, we may justly class *Addison*, whose *Evidences*

of Christianity are rested on the argument of traditional succession; and STEELE, who now perhaps reflects on his *Christian Hero* with greater satisfaction than on other less edifying performances.

A tolerable estimate of the national morals in any period, may be formed from examining its theatrical productions. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the elevated sentiments of Shakspeare were discarded for the intriguing plots of Dryden, and the obscene wit of Farquhar, Congreve, and Vanbrugh; and it is to the credit of the Establishment that JEREMY COLLIER, the historian, opposed this profaneness in his "*View of the Stage*;" a reproof to the justness of which *Dryden* had the candour to subscribe. Steele and Addison, while as essayists they inspired the national taste with a relish for moral productions, corrected, as theatrical writers, the impurity of the drama.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE I.

Contents.

- I. *Rebellion in favour of the Pretender.*—II. *Clarke's Book on the Trinity.*—III. *Bangorian Controversy: Nonjurors.*—IV. *Bill for Relief of Dissenters.*—V. *Plot against the Government: Atterbury.*—VI. *Profaneness: Hell-fire Club.*—VII. *Collins: answered by Bentley: Chubb.*—VIII. *Attempt to reconcile the English and Gallican Churches.*—IX. *Quakers released from Oath: Dissenters.*—X. *Learned Divines.*—XI. *Acts of Parliament.*—XII. *Whiston on Arianism: History of the Arians.*—XIII. *Statement and Refutation of their Principles.*

I. As Anne had, during her last years, taken the Tories into favour, an attempt, in the event of her death, to restore the ancient family, was expected by the Jacobites, and dreaded by the Whigs. These hopes and fears were alike destitute of countenance from the real character of the English Tory; but an end was put to both by the sudden death of the Queen, who left the throne (1714) to the quiet accession of George I. Elector of Hanover, a prince maternally descended from Elizabeth, the daughter of the

first James. In politics, George attached himself to the Whig party, as to the chief supporters of that Act of Settlement, which had placed him in his high situation. The Earl of Mar having, in the year following (1715), proclaimed the Chevalier beyond the Tweed, the rebels, favoured by the Earl of Derwentwater, descended into the north of England; but the battle of Preston checked their career. The next year (1716), the Pretender was crowned at Scone; but his cause being ill arranged, and his friends entirely destitute of adequate means of support, it was not long before he relinquished his rash adventure, and retired in despair to the Continent.

II. 1717. No sooner did the English people enjoy repose from this insurrection, than those political and religious contests, which it had hushed for a brief season, broke out with their wonted violence. The High Church party complained of negligence in the Whig prelates, who slumbered amidst the prevalence of heresy and impiety. This censure chiefly referred to a book written by Dr. Clarke, in the end of the preceding reign, entitled, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, which in the Lower House of Convocation had been pronounced to contain assertions inimical to the Catholic faith. The author vindicated the extracts to which they had particularly objected; but presenting, at

the same time, an apology to the Upper Chamber. Fearful, however, lest this concession should be misconstrued, or separately published, he offered to explain himself more fully to the Bishop of London. His defence and submission satisfied the Episcopal Bench; but the Lower House were of opinion that the heresy was not retracted. These disputes increasing in violence, directions were issued to all the prelates for preserving the state in peace, and the Church in unity. Preachers were prohibited from haranguing, and authors from writing, on the Trinity, otherwise than according to the true doctrine of the Scriptures, the three Creeds, and the Thirty-nine Articles; from touching on politics, save only during national fasts; and from introducing new modes of explication.

III. The parties of High and Low Church still continuing in opposition, the flame was fanned by the celebrated Bangorian controversy. This dispute received its name from Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, who published "A Preservative against the Principles and Practice of the Nonjurors;" and soon after, a Sermon, which the King had ordered to be printed, entitled, "The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ." To the writer of these pages, this Discourse appears to have been in truth a very confused production; nor is it easy to discover, amidst the author's "periods of a mile," what was his precise aim.

He seems to affirm that the clergy had no right to temporal jurisdiction; yet that Christ is the supreme legislator of the Church; and that no power, temporal or human, ought at all to infringe his authority. To this perplexed argument, Snape and Sherlock wrote replies; while a Committee of the Convocation passed a censure on the Discourse, as tending to exempt the Church from due subordination to the state. If this were really the case, it is somewhat puzzling to determine, why the King should fall so violently in love with the Sermon, or why it should be considered as bearing hard against the Nonjurors. So far as the writer comprehends the argument of Hoadly, it certainly cuts in two directions; taking away all temporal power and privileges whatever from the Church, when it is regarded with reference to the sects; and all authority over it from the Crown, when it is considered in its relation to the state. An order from Government arrested the proceedings of the Convocation; but was too feeble to stop the mouths of the controversialists. Snape and Sherlock were removed from the office of Chaplains to the King; and the Convocation has never since been permitted to assemble for the regular transaction of business. This controversy continued to employ the press for years; in the course of which, the matter in debate was either shifted, or made more ex-

plicit, as it came to respect the power of the Sovereign in ecclesiastical politics.

It may be necessary to state, that the Non-jurors were those who declined taking the oath of allegiance to King William. They were High Tories who relinquished not their attachment to the expatriated family, till 1788, when the last pretender to the throne died. It was then that their remnant, the Protestant Bishops in Scotland, began to pray for the present royal family; still, however, some trivial differences existed betwixt them and the English Episcopal clergy of that kingdom. These were happily compromised in the year 1806, when Bishop Sandford, an English clergyman of learning and great worth, resident in Edinburgh, delivered an inaugural charge to the ministry of that district*.

IV. During the violence of the Bangorian controversy (1717), an act for strengthening the Protestant interest, by uniting all well-

* See Park's Life of Steevens, Skinner's Primitive Order, and History of the Scottish Church. The time of taking episcopal orders is earlier in Scotland than England; yet it is somewhat strange, that though a Catholic priest, recanting, becomes ipso facto a priest of the Church of England, a minister ordained by a Scotch Bishop, in a church adopting the Thirty-nine Articles, and a pure church (if the author's information be correct), is not to be permitted to officiate in England.

affected Christians, was proposed by Earl Stanhope, in the House of Lords. Its purport was to repeal, in pursuance of Hoadly's principles, the acts against the growth of schism, and occasional conformity; together with some clauses in the Corporation and Test Acts. To this bill, concerted between the ministry and leading Dissenters, the Tory Lords, though taken unexpectedly, excited a violent opposition; affirming that, instead of strengthening the Church Establishment, it would only strengthen the enemies of the Church, and enable them to pull her down; and that no advantage, to the prejudice of Dissenters, had been taken of the acts complained of. These arguments were contravened by Bishop Hoadly, who maintained, that the Schism and Occasional Conformity Acts were persecuting statutes; and that an admission of the principle of intolerance in self-defence, would justify the heathen persecution of the Christians, and the direst severities of the Inquisition. The measure was carried, so far at least as related to a repeal of the Schism and Occasional Conformity Acts; but the clause for abolishing the Sacramental Test was struck out.

Ever since that period, to declaim against the Test Act has been a frequent and favourite exercise with popular orators. Their various arguments may be included under two heads: first,

that toleration is persecution while a test remains; and, secondly, that it makes hypocrites, and only excludes the well-principled. To these objections it may be replied, that toleration is simply indulgence in the free exercise of worship; that to seek any advantage beyond this point, is to convert a religious into a civil question; that an established church ought to have privileges, and ought to be supported; that it is not likely that the advocates of another religion would properly support it; and that some of those religionists who are loudest in their clamours for power, would attempt to exclude others differing from them in profession, with far greater intolerance than that of which they complain. As to the Test's making hypocrites, it may be replied, that in cases where conformity is insincere, it is not owing to the law, but to the interested and base motives of unworthy Dissenters; and it is a smaller evil that the Church should contain a few such insincere friends, than that certain places should be withheld from those whose natural bias would incline them to dismember the established constitution of the country, as composed of Church and state.

These arguments will, however, by no means apply to an attempt made by the Tories in the reign of George I. to procure a penal statute

against Arians and Socinians. The Test is a measure of prudent self-defence. A penal statute is a measure of wanton persecution. And even a test should be regulated by two considerations; namely, by the indication of dangerous political principles, which the creed to be excluded affords; and by the danger resulting to the Church establishment from an admission of the professors of that creed to power. This regard to both the civil and ecclesiastical establishment ought to direct all maxims of toleration. Complete toleration, with the abolition of a test, is dangerous to the Church but serviceable to the state; for it tends to unite the members of the community; and hence all lukewarm politicians will ever be its advocates. Toleration, with a test, is the safety of the Church, but injurious to the state, abstractedly considered; hence its propriety will be urged by men of devotion and zeal, who consider their religion as more valuable than their civil privileges; and regard the Church established as the wisest and purest form of worship.

V. In 1722, a conspiracy was either discovered or pretended by the Whigs, for establishing the Pretender on the English throne; and Bishop Atterbury, on the doubtful evidence of some letters written in cipher, was deprived of all his dignities and benefices, and sent into

perpetual exile. The absence of all certain proof against him, and various strong presumptions in his favour, evince that his main offence was being the chief support of the Tories. A general indignation was excited on account of his punishment, as well as of the insult sustained by the episcopal dignity; and in all the churches and chapels of London and Westminster, public prayers were offered for his health and safety. Thus injured in fortune and in character, and living in a state of hopeless degradation and exile, Atterbury remained firmly attached to the Protestant interest and to the Hanover succession. He removed his place of abode from Brussels to Montpellier, to avoid the solicitations of the Pretender's friends; and quarrelled with the Duke of Berwick on the ground of his proposing to place the young Duke of Buckingham under a Catholic preceptor*. This unfortunate victim of political animosity died in banishment, at Paris, 1732, through grief for the loss of his daughter.

Taking advantage of the alleged plot with which this prelate was said to have been connected, the Whig Parliament raised 100,000*l.* on the real and personal estates of the Catholics,

* Coxe's Life of Walpole. Nichols's Epistolary Correspondence of Atterbury.

towards defraying the expense incurred in suppressing the rebellion of 1715.

VI. That "he who maketh haste to be rich, cannot be innocent," is one of those aphorisms which have justly obtained for their royal author the title of the Wise Man. The South Sea scheme, and other inferior frauds and speculations, were partly the effects of profligacy seeking a quick supply to its exhausted means; and partly its cause, as the possession of real, or anticipation of imaginary abundance, led men to throw loose the reins of appetite, and to indulge in every description of riot and immorality. An exemplification of this truth was exhibited by that truly shocking society, entitled, The Hell-fire Club, whose daring impiety and outrage of all modesty occasioned a proclamation, signifying His Majesty's strong displeasure. A bill was immediately afterwards proposed for the suppression of profaneness; but after having been discussed with much indecent ribaldry, it was lost, owing to its admixture with politics.

VII. Infidelity is the shield of vice. We cannot therefore be surprised, that so excessive a profligacy of manners should attempt, if it could not hide, to shelter itself behind this defence: and, unhappily, wherever arguments for unbelief are in demand, they will not fail to be furnished to wealthy and unprincipled

libertines by needy and unprincipled authors. Collins*, who had commenced an attack on Revelation under the late reign, renewed his assault in 1724, by publishing his "Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion;" in which, after resting the evidences chiefly on prophecy, he artfully explained the prophecies away as having been learnt like any art in the schools of the Rabbis†. Sherlock answered him the following year in six discourses delivered at the Temple Church, and entitled, "The Use and Intent of Prophecy‡." Able answers were likewise given by Whiston, Chandler, and Clarke. But Collins's Discourse of Freethinking had some time before (1713) received a more powerful reply from Bentley, the gigantic champion of truth; who, in the "Phileleutherus Lipsiensis," with much

* See Leland's Deistical Writers, art. Collins.

† "In order to obtain the prophetic spirit," says he, "they played music and drank wine." Leland's Deistical Writers, vol. i. And again, "They were great freethinkers."—"They discovered lost goods, and told fortunes." Of all this ribaldry the very principle is false, for Christianity rests equally on prophecy and miracles. Many prophecies were understood by the Jews themselves, not as referring to states, allegorically, but literally to their Messiah.

‡ Of these Sermons, an old person who heard them told a friend of mine that the preacher began with a fair statement of his antagonist's argument; so forcible, that, had death intercepted the harangue, it seemed as if many would have been infidels; but before the close the whole house built on sand was overthrown.

learning and severe wit, convicted his antagonist of ignorance and wilful misrepresentation. This infidel had pushed metaphysical inquiries too far, by endeavouring to represent preternatural things as ordinary events, and his last sigh was heaved in the expressive sentence, "Alas! Locke has ruined me*." The authors of the Biographical Dictionary, however, give a different account of his last moments. Collins is said by them to have been a moral man.

Chubb, another infidel with greater effrontery and less learning, acquired promptitude and fluency in a society which he had formed for debating on religious subjects; and when sacredness is thus brought down to the familiarity of a speaking club, it is not far from suffering entire contempt. Boldness is regarded as ability; the most admired disputant is he who produces specious arguments to shake established opinions, and men contend for triumph rather than for truth. Chubb interfered in the controversy betwixt Clarke and Waterland, by asserting the supremacy of the Father; and the arbitration of an unlettered tradesman between two such scholars failed not to attract notice. Like some other cowardly infidels, he left his worst productions, in the way of legacy, to be published after his decease. In these he plainly denied Revelation; and disbelieving a particular

* Jones's Life of Horne. Leland's Deistical Writers.

providence, objected to the duty of prayer. Chubb was the master of Thomas Paine; and as Chubb had copied from former infidels without acknowledgment, in the same clandestine manner has Paine stolen from Chubb. Alike destitute of learning or of critical skill, they were equally incompetent to elucidate Scripture. Such is the parallel betwixt the tallow-chandler and the stay-maker; both sciolists, both impudent, both self-sufficient, and both literary thieves. The one gave no *light*, and the other no *freedom*. It would have been well, had the man of tallow never *dipped* into theology, or the corset-maker sate on a board of inquiry into things too high for his measurement.

VIII. When animosities are violent, moderate and conciliatory measures, however laudable, are not likely to be popular with either party. For this reason Archbishop Wake incurred much blame for a correspondence with Du Pin and several other Doctors of the Sorbonne*, relative to a projected union between the English and Gallican Churches. He was charged with making concessions to these divines, in favour of the grossest superstition and idolatry. But let it be remembered that this is the man who had completely refuted Bossuet's

* Vide Mosheim, vol. v. Appendix; and Collier, Appendix.

Defence of the Church of Rome; that the proposal of union did not originate with him; that he never made one concession in doctrine or discipline; and that his parley was occasioned by the hope he entertained of reforming the Church of France. This correspondence is worthy of attentive perusal; as it will show that all the concessions were tendered by the French divines; and may temper violence against the Catholic religion, by exhibiting it as making approaches to the English worship, when held by moderate men.

IX. The Quakers were in this reign indulged in the substitution of an affirmative for an oath in a court of justice, and subsequently with the omission of the words, "In the presence of Almighty God," which had been inserted in the form of asseveration. Against this bill, the London clergy petitioned; while Atterbury uncharitably pronounced the Quakers to be "hardly Christians." The principle has been examined in another place.

Wake had denounced the Schism Act as a hardship upon the Dissenters; and by now opposing its repeal, he incurred the charge of inconsistency. But this imputation seems equally groundless with the calumny which represented him as favourable to Catholicism. The fact is, that the spirit of the times was now materially

altered. Under the administration of Bolingbroke, the Dissenters, as an oppressed body, demanded commiseration and relief. But the Whigs had exceeded as much in enlargement, as their predecessors had erred on the side of intolerance: an indulgence which had rendered the objects of it so bold, as to excite the reasonable apprehensions of well-wishers to the Established Church.

X. In opposition to the growth of vice, infidelity, and schism, many learned and pious individuals, laymen as well as ecclesiastics, adorned by their writings and their lives the cause of orthodox Christianity. *Sherlock*, *Atterbury*, and *Derham*, were ably supported by Sir Isaac Newton, whose astronomical discoveries, independently of some religious labours, elucidated the unity, power, providence, and immensity of God; by West, who so forcibly reasoned on the resurrection; and by his noble friend and convert Lord *Lyttelton*, to whose *Observations on St. Paul* it has been truly observed, that “ Infidelity has never even attempted to give a specious answer.”

In this reign, *Locke* published his celebrated *Essay*; *Shaftesbury* his *Characteristics*; and *Berkeley*, Bishop of Cloyne, his *Ideal System*. Bishops Cumberland, Fleetwood, Smallridge, Conybeare, Gibson, Gastrell, Butler, Potter,

King, are names standing conspicuous among the biographical annals of this period *.

XI. In addition to the statutes already incidentally mentioned, Acts of Parliament were passed in the period of which we are treating, for the protection of dissenting meeting-houses; for extending the power of recovering tithes, to all customary dues paid to clergymen, and for rendering Quakers liable to such payments; for compelling ecclesiastics to take the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration; for enabling donatives to receive Queen Anne's bounty, and for converting them so augmented into perpetual cures; and for inflicting penalties on Papists refusing the oaths above mentioned.

XII. As Whiston, during the reign of George I. revived the Arian heresy, we shall lay hold on this opportunity, in pursuance of

* Cumberland is known by his Treatise on Scriptural Weights and Measures; Fleetwood, by tracts on lay Baptism; Smallridge and Conybeare are writers of Sermons remarkable for dry logic; Gibson is the more amiable author of three valuable Pastoral Charges; and Gastrell, of the Christian Institutes. It were idle to descant on the Analogy of Butler, or on King's Origin of Evil. Potter is more celebrated as the author of the Archæologia, than as the divine who wrote an excellent Treatise on Church Government.

our plan, to narrate its history, and to examine its principles*.

This heresy disturbed the Church at so early a period, that St. John wrote his Gospel and Epistles against Ebion and Cerinthus, whose opinions respecting Christ were heterodox. But as Columbus had not the honour of perpetuating the memory of his achievement in the appellation of the country he had discovered: so these early dissentients escaped the disgrace of being transmitted to posterity as imparting their names to the rising sect. This was the lot of Arius, a Presbyter of Alexandria, about the year 315. Arius began by disputing in private with the Alexandrian Bishop, whose opinions he suspected to be Sabellian. He soon found a patron in Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia; who espousing his principles, introduced him to Constantia, sister of the Emperor Constantine. Under these high auspices the sect grew and prospered until the Council of Alexandria condemned its doctrines (320), and the first General Council, assembled at Nice in Bithynia, A. D. 325, repeated that condemnation, banished Arius, and composed, with only two dissentient voices

* See Whitaker's History of Arianism; Percy's Key to the New Testament; Rees's Cyclopedia, art. Arians; a History of Arianism, in Jortin's Works; Letters between Price and Priestley; Account of Books and Pamphlets on the Trinity, from 1712 to 1719; Mordecai's Letters; Carpenter's Lectures; Emlyn's Vindication of the Worship of Christ.

among 323 Bishops, the well-known Nicene Creed as an antidote to his heterodox opinions. A few years afterwards he was recalled to Constantinople; and reading before the Emperor, already inclined to the heresy, an artful statement of his principles, persuaded him to rescind the decree by which they were condemned. In defiance of this repeal, Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, objected to receiving him back into communion; an opposition which brought that prelate into much trouble, without restoring Arius to the bosom of the Egyptian Church; and the heresiarch soon after died suddenly, A. D. 336. Different successors of Constantine were Arian or orthodox, as suited their principle, policy, or caprice. The court religion became fashionable in its various changes. Each party, when in power, proceeded unjustifiably against the other, and Christian first persecuted Christian on the score of Arianism.

The principles of Arius were diffused throughout the East, where they flourished to the time of Theodosius the Great, who endeavoured by all means to effect their suppression. The Vandals in Africa, in Asia the Goths, and in Europe, Italy, Gaul, and Spain, were all at an early period infected with this heterodox doctrine. It languished, however, from the eighth to the sixteenth century; when Servetus, for professing it, was burnt at Geneva, 1553. His

principles, however, survived him, and started up at different periods in Switzerland, Poland, and England; in which last country two Arians suffered death under the writ *De Heretico comburendo*, in the reign of James I.* The controversy was revived in the eighteenth century by the Churchmen, Whiston and Clarke; and more recently among the Dissenters by Price and Harwood. Taylor, author of *Mordecai's Apology*; Cornish, who wrote on the pre-existence of Christ; Carpenter, of Stourbridge; Emlyn, Chandler, Benson, Pierce, Grove, Sykes, Hopkins, and Bishop Clayton, were all either Arians or partially tainted with the heresy. The co-eternal Trinity has been supported against this impeachment by an innumerable army of learned divines, among whom Calamy, Jones, Simpson, Randolph, Scott, have written expressly on the Trinity; and Abbadie, Waterland, Hey, Robinson, Eveleigh, have confined themselves to the divinity of Christ. Granville Sharp and Bishop Middleton have illustrated the subject by dissertations on the Greek article, and Mr. Maurice by his *Treatise on Oriental Trinities*.

* The extensive prevalence of this doctrine not long after the Reformation, occasioned an order, in 1560, that incorrigible Arians should be sent to some castle in North Wales or Wallingford. (Strype, vol. ii. p. 214.)

XII. Of Arianism there are three degrees; comprehending the Semi-Arians, the High Arians, and the Low Arians. Christ, according to all of these, pre-existed before his incarnation; but he is inferior to the Father as touching his Godhead. The Semi-Arians reject the word *ὁμοσῆιος*, as applied to Christ; for which they substitute *ὁμοιῶσῆιος*, declaring him to be of like, not one substance with the Father; and only LIKE the Father in all things *. An inferior degree of dignity is assigned to him by the High Arians; who conceiving the Father alone to be the one supreme God, yet regard the Son as the first derived Being, and next in dignity to the Father, though not retrospectively co-eternal. They hold, that under the Father he exercises the offices of Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the world. Some High Arians offer Christ an inferior worship; others deny him worship altogether. Some confine his providence under the Old Testament to the Jews; others, resting on Hebrews, i. 2, and ii. 3, regard him as the constant and universal Ruler, the Jehovah, the Logos, the Angel of the Covenant. According to the Low or more modern Arians, Christ was only a superangelic, pre-existing spirit of high dignity and transcendent perfection: they not only refuse him

* Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. p. 51.

every species of adoration, but even deny his concern in the creation and government of the world.

The ancient Arians worshipped Christ; and seem to have been justly accused of idolatry in adoring a being whom they affirmed and allowed to be no more than a creature. Whiston, Clarke, Emlyn, and others, patrons of Arianism, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, likewise offered homage to the first-begotten and only Son of God; but among the Arians in general, since the time of Dr. Price, this inferior worship has been more consistently discontinued. With respect to the Holy Ghost, they deny his divinity; affirming him to have been created and begotten by the Son, and inferior to both the Son and the Father. In their doxologies, they ascribe "Glory to the Father through the Son." In Carpenter's Creed, it is stated that Christ died for our sins: but in what sense or degree he is held as a propitiatory sacrifice, is left to the congregation to discover.

Dr. Clarke drew up a body of amendments in the Book of Common Prayer, striking out all passages in which the second or third Person is called God, or personally addressed in adoration. This book was never published; but it may be seen in the British Museum, and an abstract of it is found in Mr. Lindsey's Apology for resigning the Living of Catterick. Car-

penter, in his Liturgy, introduces hymns of praise to Christ; though he prays only to the Father in the name of the Son. There is a natural descent from Arianism into Socinianism, and thence, as experience shows, to a refined Deism. The term Unitarians is now confined to Socinians; for, according to Belsham, it cannot belong to Arians, who acknowledge a greater and a lesser God. Since, generally speaking, it is the doctrine of a triune God which is disputed in every branch of the Arian heresy, all that seems necessary, in the investigation now proposed, is an endeavour to establish that great article of faith *.

Among several ancient Heathen nations may be traced a faint notion of a Trinity in the divine nature: and as this is a doctrine by no means likely to have been discovered by the unaided powers of reason, or fabricated by human artifice, its prevalence can only be explained by believing it to have been at first revealed by the Almighty himself to the early

* Sincerity is venerable, even in its errors; and when we compare the honourable sacrifice made by Mr. Lindsey with the contemptible baseness of Mr. Stone, who a few years ago reviled the established Creed, and publicly recanted his faith, without losing his hold of ecclesiastical preferment till compelled to forego it, we cannot avoid paying to the former gentleman the tribute of well-merited respect.

patriarchs, and thus spread abroad with the dispersion of mankind; until recollection of the source from whence it proceeded was lost, and it became debased with fabulous intermixtures. If we examine the creeds of Persia, Egypt, India, Phrygia, and Rome, we shall find this setting forth of the Deity in triads to be a very remarkable feature which pervades them all. For the most enlightened Paganism is only the twilight of Revelation, after the sun of it was set in the posterity of Noah *. The oracles of the Persian Zoroaster are allowed to be the genuine source of both the Persian and Egyptian, and consequently of the Greek theology. From the ancient Chaldaic language in which they were originally written, they were translated into Greek by Berosus, Julian the Philosopher, or Hermippus, and have descended to posterity in detached fragments. In one of these it is stated, that where the paternal Monad (or unity) is, that Monad amplifies itself, and generates a duality :

ΟΠΕΡ ΠΑΤΡΙΧΗ ΜΟΝΑΣ ΕΣΤΙ

ΤΑΥΤΗ ΕΣΤΙ ΜΟΝΑΣ ἢ ΔΥΟ ΓΕΝΝΑ.

Here, in the word *πατριχη* (generates, not creates), is implied a son, the very notion of Christianity. The Duad thus generated, it is

* Preface to Dryden's *Religio Laici*.

added, καθηται, sits by the Monad, shines with intellectual beams, and governs all things :

Παντι γαρ ἐν κόσμῳ λαμπει τριας

Ἡς μονας αρχει.

“ For a Triad of Deity shines throughout the world, of which a Monad is the head.” Again, we learn that there appeared in this Triad virtue, and wisdom, and truth, that know all things; implying an union of three persons in the divine essence; and in a section entitled Πατηρ και νους, the Father is said to perfect all things, and to deliver them over νῶ δευτέρῳ, to the second mind.

Throughout every region of the East, an immemorial tradition prevailed, that one God had FROM ALL ETERNITY begotten another God, the architect and governor of the material world, sometimes called Πνευμα, spirit; sometimes Νος, mind; and sometimes Λογος, the word or reason; although the notions respecting this Being and his functions were various and confused. Among the ancient Persians, vestiges of this doctrine are found in the three great deities, Ormusd (softened by the Greeks into Oromasdes), Mithra, and Ahriman. Mithra, the middle god, is called the Mediator; an idea which could only arise from belief in the necessity of intercession, and of an atonement not to be effected by man. Plutarch (De Iside

et Osiride) observes, that the Persians were so thoroughly acquainted with this doctrine as to term any mediator Mithra. In the Persian creed, Ormusd is spoken of as having triplicated himself; and Mithra also is termed Τριπλοσιος. He is further called τον δευτερον νεν. These phrases show clearly that a divine Triad was interwoven, though in a confused manner, in the ancient religion of Persia*.

While the religion of Memphis was that of the grossest idolatry, the Thebais, or Upper Egypt, we are told by Eusebius, who cites the authority of Porphyry, acknowledged a supreme spirit, under the name of CNEPH, who was represented as thrusting forth from his mouth an egg, from which proceeded another god, PTHA, a term which, according to Cudworth, the Copts at present use to designate the Divine Being. Osiris, however, was held as the chief deity of Egypt, the source from which these two beings emanated. Osiris, Cneph, and Ptha, accordingly, constitute the true Egyptian Triad; agreeably to which hypothesis, Osiris, the Gubernator Mundi, is in many sculptures of Upper Egypt represented as placed in a boat, accompanied by two attendants.

In later times, when the simplicity of this

* Plutarch de Iside et Osir. Maurice's Ind. Antiquit. et Orient. Trin.

original theology was disguised in hieroglyphics, the supreme uncreated Spirit, together with his attributes or emanations, was represented by a triangular emblem. On most of the temples and obelisks, the Egyptian Trinity is inscribed under the symbols of a globe, a serpent, and a wing; the globe denoting the Supreme Being; the serpent, the Wisdom, or *Λογος*; and the wing, the Spirit, or *Πνευμα*.

When from the banks of the Nile we proceed to those of the Ganges, we here find the grand Hindoo Triad established in the persons of Brahma, Veeshnu, and Seeva; Brahma, the Creator (Hebrew, Bra or Bara, created); Veeshnu, the Preserver; and Seeva (probably, as Mr. Maurice thinks), the Regenerator. This opinion is confirmed by the great bust in the Cavern of Elephanta, having three heads fixed on one body; and representing, as the priests of that idol declare, the Creator, Preserver, and Regenerator of mankind. The temple in which it stands is perhaps the oldest in the world; having been excavated before man had attained the knowledge of the arch.

But besides this exhibition of the great Hindoo deity, by the figure of a bust bearing three heads, three is, in other respects, a sacred number among the Hindoos. To that number their Vedas, or sacred books, are confined; thrice their daily devotions to Heaven are offered;

thrice in their ablutions their bodies are dipped; and next their skin is worn the Zennar, or cord of three threads, the emblem of their faith in the Triad *.

Dardanus, in the ninth century after Noah's flood, carried the doctrine of a Triad into Phrygia from Samothrace, where the three Personages had been worshipped under the Hebrew name of Cabirim, a word signifying "the Great or Mighty Ones †."

Hence, as the Romans acknowledged a Phrygian ancestry, the worship of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, as a Triad, was derived, and became the public religion of the Capitol.

It has been urged, that the doctrine of a Trinity is repugnant to human reason, and that the Christians derived their notions of it from the Triad of the Platonic school, *Αγαθον*, *Νεϋς*, *Ψυχη*. But, not to mention that these two assertions are manifestly contradictory, the facts here produced are a sufficient refutation of both. The Platonists, indeed, pretended only to be the expositors of an ancient doctrine, which they traced to Pythagoras, Orpheus, and the Egyp-

* See Maurice's *Indian Antiquit. and Oriental Trinities*; Sonnerat's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 109; Faber on the Cabiri; Allix's *Judgment of the Jewish Church*, p. 161.

† Horsley's *Controversy with Priestley*, p. 43. Macrobius's *Saturnal.* lib. iii. c. iv. Varro apud Arnob. p. 123. Faber's *Mysteries of the Cabiri*.

tian priests *. Neither can an article of belief be pronounced contradictory to reason, which found its way into so many ancient religions and systems of philosophy.

By this cursory review of ancient creeds and opinions, we have prepared the way for a reception of more direct and unequivocal proofs of a Trinity in the Divine Nature, as gathered from the law and the prophets, from the Jewish interpreters, from the New Testament, from a comparison of the Bible at large with the acknowledged attributes of God, and, lastly, from the writings of the earliest fathers.

It was formerly matter of doubt, whether the doctrine of the blessed Trinity was revealed under the Old Testament dispensation; but learned writers have satisfactorily established the affirmative; although God, in his wisdom, forbore to deliver himself strongly or fully on the subject in addressing the Hebrew people, prone as they were to idolatry, and on that account to be guarded against mistakes concerning the divine unity. Even in the opening verses of the Old Testament, we are plainly introduced to the first and third Persons of the Trinity; for it is there related that God created the heavens and the earth; that the *Spirit* of God moved upon the face of the waters: and

* See Horsley, as above.

again, that "God said, Let us make man in our own image." Now, it is a remark made by learned commentators, that the word Elohim, employed to signify the Creator, is a noun having a plural termination, yet annexed to a verb in the singular, as if denoting the plurality of persons combined in the unity of the Godhead. That this is not an idiom but an intentional mode of speech is certain, because Moses does not constantly adhere to it. In the passage, "They sacrificed to devils, and not to the Lord*," the noun occurs in the singular number, being not Elohim but Eloah. In other texts likewise a remarkable anxiety is displayed to establish this plurality of persons, and yet to guard against the danger of Polytheism. "Remember the Lord thy Gods."—"He is the holy Gods."—"Remember thy CREATORS in the days of thy youth." Such is the literal interpretation of these passages: and we may add, that the description of the divine wisdom, in the Book of Proverbs, represents it as a person existing with God from all eternity.

As a corroboration of these testimonies, we may observe that a Triune Deity was not wholly unknown to learned expounders of Scripture among the ancient Jews. This appears from the Targums or Commentaries on the Penta-

* Deut. xxxii. 17.

teuch and prophets, written by Jonathan and Onkelos, somewhere about half a century prior to the Christian æra; and likewise from two other books, the Mishna, or Repetition; and Gamara, or Completion; published about 800 years after Christ, together constituting the Talmud, the oral law supposed to have been delivered by God to Moses for the elucidation of the written code. The Hebrew text, "In the beginning God created," &c. (Genesis, i.) is rendered by the first or Jerusalem Targum, "By his *wisdom* God created the heavens and the earth," &c. Onkelos, in translating the phrase, employs the verb Amar, whence is derived the word Mimra, which in the Chaldæan answers to *λογος*. His term is not merely Dabar, which would signify the speech of God, but Amar, whereby the *Λογος* is personified.

Why Onkelos has not translated the word Bereschit by Kadmita, which imports the beginning of time, but by Bekadmin, denoting the ancient of the first, several Hebrew commentators are cited by Allix to explain. By this latter term the Jewish doctors understand the Wisdom, or Cochma, that second number in the Divine Essence which, emanating from the first, formed all that has being by his own more immediate agency. To the Holy Spirit, the third number, they apply distinctively the denomination Binah, or understanding. This doctri-

nal nomenclature is in strict and singular accordance with two phrases occurring in the Proverbs, and the apocryphal Book of Wisdom: "Jehovah by Wisdom (Cochma) hath founded the earth; by Understanding (Binah) hath he established the heavens." Prov. iii. 19. "Give me Wisdom (Cochma) that sitteth by thy throne." These personages are styled by the Rabbins the two hands of God: and to the former, Mimra, or Shechinah, the Word or Glory of God, they ascribe all the wonders performed for the deliverance of their nation. Wherever, according to Allix, Jehovah and Elohim are joined in the Hebrew, Onkelos renders that compound term the "Word of God," and others the Shechinah. Nor can this word be at all considered in any other light than as a distinct person, since he is invested with many active and distinctive attributes—commanding, giving laws, and receiving prayers.

In Exodus (ch. iii. ver. 4, et seq.) the ANGEL of the Lord is the person represented as having addressed Moses from the burning bush: "And Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look upon God." He moreover took off his shoes; a custom still prevalent in the East, not in relation to an angel, but on entering the temple of God. Jonathan affirms that it was the *Λογος* who communicated with Moses; that self-same *Λογος* who spake, and the world was made. Now, the whole Jewish nation agree that God

revealed himself to Moses face to face, which could not be averred if the word "Angel" were to be understood literally, as signifying a ministering spirit.

With respect to the next divine appearance, namely, at Sinai, the Jewish commentators are all confident that it was the Λογος.

Philo, the Jew, styles the Λογος, Θεος; and in one remarkable passage even Δευτερος Θεος*. Philo further asserts the personality of the Ruah Haddokesh, whom he denominates Θειον Πνευμα, the Divine Spirit; and in the words of the Septuagint Πνευμα Θεου and Θειος Προφητης. To this Spirit he ascribes the work of creation.

Among the Egyptians, the triangle was symbolical of the Numen τριμορφον: and in like manner the three branches of the Hebrew letter ם, schin, are asserted in a book written before the Talmud, the Zohar, as cited by Allix (Jewish Ch. p. 170), to be a just emblem of the three persons constituting the divine Essence. On the phylacteries of the ancient Jews this mystical letter was inscribed; and to its three significant branches they applied the several names of the lights, the powers, and the spirits: Δυνάμεις and Sephiroth. "See," says the author of the Zohar, "the mystery of the word Elohim, three distinct degrees, and yet all one and inseparable." Indeed, this

* Philon Jud. apud Euseb. p. 190.

word Elohim, with the Jod for Jehovah added to it, was declared by the Rabbi Ibba to involve a latent mystery, which should not be revealed until the advent of the Messiah*.

Philo, speaking of the $\delta \Omega \nu$, the eternal Ens (Dissertat. de Cherub. p. 86), maintains, that comprehended in the one true God are two supreme $\Delta \upsilon \nu \alpha \mu \epsilon \iota \varsigma$, Goodness and Authority, and between them a mediatorial $\Lambda \omicron \gamma \omicron \varsigma$ †.

The triple benediction delivered in the sixth chapter of Numbers, ver. 24, "The Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord make his face to shine upon thee, the Lord give thee peace," was pronounced, as Poole and Patrick, citing Rabbi Menachem, inform us, each clause with a different accent, while the priest who pronounced it raising his hand, "sic digitos composuit, ut Triada exprimerent ‡."

But lest these introductory remarks should be strained by the Arian into an accordance with his peculiar views of the $\Lambda \omicron \gamma \omicron \varsigma$, let us hasten to the New Testament, where the truth is more clearly brought to light, and where the three Persons of the Trinity are exhibited as plainly coeternal and coequal.

It is unnecessary here to notice the attempts made by cavillers to disprove the authenticity

* Univers. Hist. vol. iii. p. 12. See Patrick on Deut. vi. 4; on the three Midoth, or properties.

† See also De Sacrificiis Abel et Cain, p. 108.

‡ See Maurice's Oriental Trinities.

of the opening verses of St. John's Gospel; for even if the words, "there are three that bear record in heaven, &c." were to be given up as spurious, they convey no information but what is abundantly found in numerous other passages of the New Testament. Fraud might interpolate a solitary text; but if the doctrine which it enforces appear every where dispersed, and be placed in various points of view, such proofs are of themselves sufficiently conclusive.

When our Lord enjoins his Apostles to go and baptize all nations, in the name (not the names) of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, it is obvious to remark, that as baptism is the seal of a covenant between God and man, God alone should be named by man in that sacrament as the party with whom he engages. Here, however, three names occur, and consequently these three Persons unite in one Godhead.

In another view, baptism is the act of receiving of men from a state of sin into a state of divine favour; a recovery and blessing, of which they can be assured only in the name of the great and one God. But, as here, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are brought forward, God is united in the three: for the Scripture prohibiting the multiplication of Gods, they cannot be three Gods but a triune Deity. We may apply the same reasoning to

the blessing communicated in the Gospel: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all;" for who can confer grace and divine love, and spiritual fellowship, saving God only? It cannot here, or in other places, be pretended that the Son and the Holy Ghost are influences emanating from the Father, or simply his attributes or operations. Christ speaks of a glory which he had WITH the Father before the world began; an expression denoting him to be something more than a mere mode in which the Father operates. The one is mediator, the other intercessor, according to evangelical representation; and these terms imply distinctness of person; for a mediator and an intercessor are not of one but of two; the one bent on a particular purpose, the other seeking to divert him from that purpose. Besides, when our Saviour left the world and ascended to the Father, he told the Apostles that he should send the Holy Ghost to supply his place. A positive intimation of distinctness of persons. He calls the Spirit *another Comforter*, one who shall not speak of HIMSELF; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak. These words would be inexplicable if the Spirit were not a person, but merely an attribute or influence.

A variety of passages evince, that by the phrase "Son of God" the Scriptures declare our Saviour to be equal with the paternal Deity.

“The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore, also the holy thing that shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.” Such was the address of the angel to the mother of our blessed Lord. This quotation at once establishes the divinity of the Holy Ghost, from whose overshadowing, our Lord is called the Son of God, and evinces him to be the Son of God in a sense wholly different from that in which all men are said vaguely to be his children, or, as in Acts, xvii. 28, his offspring. To pretend to be the Messiah, according to the Jewish ideas of that personage, amounted not to the crime of blasphemy any more than pretending to prophetic inspiration, nor was death inflicted as the punishment of such imposition. When, therefore, the Jews sought to kill Jesus for arrogating the title of the Son of God, they must have conceived him to have pretended to be more than even their Messiah, however highly they might pitch their estimate of that great character. That they considered him as assuming divinity, and consequently (since such was the received import of the phrase) that he did fully assume it, is evident from the assigned reason of their hatred; namely, “because he said that God was his father, making himself equal with God.” This is further proved by his reply to the high priest’s demand;

“I adjure thee by the living God, art thou Christ the Son of God?” Such was the Jewish mode of administering an oath; and Jesus, thus solemnly charged, made answer, “Thou hast said.” This response is an oriental manner of speaking in the affirmative; and so in fact the high priest understood him, for he immediately rent his clothes and said, “He hath spoken blasphemy.” But could the words of our Lord be truly pronounced blasphemy, if they meant any thing less than an assumption of divinity, and of entire equality with the Father?

To admit, indeed, the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, seems the only method of harmonizing various passages in Scripture, some of which represent him as man and others as God. Thus, our Lord is sometimes exhibited as praying to the Father; as not knowing when the day of judgment should take place; as not wisting that he addressed the Jewish high priest; as clothed with human infirmities; as subject to human wants; as abjuring the title of good, and referring it to God alone, Matt. xix. 17; as unable to dispose of honours in the kingdom of Heaven; xx. 28; xvi. 13: and, finally, as asking, with reference to himself, “Whom do men say that I, the son of MAN, am?” At other times he is held forth as the Son of God; as the Word

which was in the beginning with God, and which was God; as one with the Father, John, x. 30; as superior to all the angels, Hebrews, i.; as the Son to whom the one true God hath said, "Thy throne, *O God*, is for ever and ever," Hebrews, i.; and as Christ who is over all, God, blessed for ever, Rom. ix. 5*; as the Christ in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, Coloss. ii. 9; he is Jesus Christ, the true God, and eternal life, 1 John, v. 20; he is God in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, 2 Cor. v. 19; as God made manifest in the flesh; as replying to the question, "Lord, show us the Father," "Have I been so long time with thee, and hast thou not known me, Philip?" Now, these opposite representations can only be reconciled by adopting the belief in the hypostatic union. An exclusive confinement of attention to one class of the passages, is the fatal stumbling-block of the Socinian heretics. But if, when Christ is spoken of as man, we refer the expression to his human nature, and when as God, to his divine character; on this plan every thing becomes clear and harmonious. Here we have obtained an hypothesis which embraces all the facts, and the only one which CAN embrace them.

This union is in truth so intimate, that attri-

* See Isaiah, xlv; and Revelations, xxii.

butes of the Divine Nature are sometimes in Scripture applied to the man Jesus, while those of his humanity are predicated of him as God. Thus the man Jesus is proposed, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as an object of adoration to the angels, ch. i. ver. 6; and in the twentieth chapter of Acts the Church is entitled, “The Church of God, which he purchased with his blood.”

A farther and highly ingenious demonstration of the divinity of our Saviour, has been given by Mr. Granville Sharpe, in his Treatise on the Use of the definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament. The general rule under which his examples are ranged, is, that when two personal nouns of the same case are connected by the copulative particle *καί*; if the former has the definitive article, and the latter is without it, they both relate to the same person. Thus, 2 Cor. i. 3, *Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πάτερ Κυρίῃ ἡμῶν*; and, 1 Cor. xv. 24, *Τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί*, are both correctly rendered, To God, even the Father: consequently other passages, such as Ephes. v. 5; 2 Thess. i. 12; 1 Tim. v. 21; 2 Peter, i. 1, &c. ought to have been translated in the same manner: *τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ*—of God, even Jesus Christ*.

But perhaps the divinity of Christ and of the

* See G. Sharpe and Bishop Middleton on the Article.

Holy Spirit is placed in its strongest and most convincing light, by showing that the Scripture ascribes to them such attributes and qualities as belong to God alone*. For example: God, we know, is alone from everlasting; yet "I," saith Jesus, "am the first and the last" (Revelat.); and the Holy Ghost is, in Hebrews (chap. ix.), denominated the everlasting Spirit. Again: omnipresence is the exclusive attribute of God; yet St. Paul declares (Ephes. i. 22), that Christ filleth all in all; and the Psalmist exclaims, aluding to the third Person, "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?" Christ and the Spirit, therefore, enjoying each the faculty of ubiquity, are invested with the divine nature. Once more: God alone is the Creator of the universe; but, since we read in St. John (i. 3), that by Christ were all things made—and in Job (chap. xxxiii.), "the Spirit of God hath made me," here is another proof of the divinity of these two Personages. By another class of passages compared with each other, the divinity of the Son and that of the Spirit are separately ascertained. We read in the Epistle to the Ephesians, "Forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, forgave you." And in that to the Colossians: "Forgiving one another, even as Christ forgave you." "Behold," says Isaiah, "the

* See Jones of Nayland's Three Hundred Texts,

Lord God will come; and his reward is with him." "Behold," it is written in the Revelations, "I Jesus come quickly, and my reward is with me." These extracts speak for themselves as to the divinity of the Son. "Why," Ananias is asked, "hath Satan filled thy heart, to lie unto the Holy Ghost? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God." "Know ye not," says St. Paul to the Corinthians, "that your bodies are temples of the Holy Ghost?" Which passage is illustrated in another part of the same Epistle: "The temple of God is holy; which temple are ye." Such texts, as elucidating the divinity of the Holy Ghost, are too clear to stand in need of explanation or comment. In the same manner, many other properties are assigned in the Sacred Writings to our Lord and to the Holy Ghost, which can only be predicated of the Supreme Being: spotless, truth—consummate holiness—underived power in quickening the dead—spiritual communication with the faithful—raising Christ from the tomb—working all in all.

More particularly, in replying to the Arians, it is of importance to show, that Christ is held forth in Holy Writ as an object of worship; for thus the disciple of Arius is reduced to an obvious dilemma: if he refuses worship to Christ, he disobeys a positive commandment; and if he offers it, retaining his Arian opinions, he wor-

ships a created being, and establishes two Gods—being guilty at once of idolatry and polytheism.

Adoration, we know, is due to God alone; for it is written, “Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve” (Matt. iv. 10); while idolatry is defined to be, “doing service to them who by nature are no gods.” (Gal. iv. 8.) The Apostle, however, expressly directs, that at the name of JESUS every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth, and things under the earth. (Phil. ii. 10.) And again: although Nehemiah exclaims to the Most High, “Thou, even thou, art God alone, and the host of heaven worshippeth thee” (Nehemiah, ix. 6); we read in the New Testament, that when “he bringeth the firstborn into the world, he saith, Let all the angels of God worship him.” If the Arian, then, wholly refuses worship to the Son, he violates his duty in that one particular, and so “is guilty of all:” and if he OFFERS worship to the Son, while believing that high Personage to be something less than God, he violates the duty of worshipping God alone: he is an idolater by worshipping that which is to him no God; and a polytheist, by adoring at once the Creator and a supposed creature. The only possible escape from this difficulty consists in the admission that the Father and the Son are one.

We find in Scripture, that wheresoever worship is offered to any created, any inferior being, whether man or angel, it is rejected with the most strenuous prohibition. Thus, when Cornelius met Peter, and fell down at his feet to worship him, the Apostle replied, "Stand up, for I myself also am a man." (Acts, x. 25, 26.) And, in like manner, when John fell at the angel's feet, with similar intention, "See thou do it not," was the immediate answer; "I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren who have the testimony of Jesus: worship God." (Rev. xix. 10.) The same result happens again in the book of Revelation, at xxii. 9. Now, if Christ had been a mere man, if he had been even an angel, or, in short, any thing inferior to the great God, the sole object of worship, he would undoubtedly, in the same manner, have rejected all offers of adoration. In fact, however, he permitted himself, on many occasions, to be worshipped: by the Magi in his infancy (Matt. ii. 11); by the leper (Matt. viii. 2); by the ruler (Matt. ix. 18); by the persons in the ship (Matt. xiv. 33); by the woman of Canaan (Matt. xv. 25); by the man born blind (John, ix. 38); by the women after his resurrection (Matt. xxviii. 9); by the assembly at Galilee (v. 17); and, finally, at his ascension into heaven (Luke, xxiv. 52). On all these occasions there is no one tittle of reproof—no attempt to

correct the proffered adoration, as the tribute of overstrained and mistaken zeal.

If farther proof be wanting, it is written in the Gospel of St. John, v. 23, "that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father." Now, the same honour is not paid to the Father and the Son, either by those who believe the Father, but not the Son, to be God; or by those who worship the Father, but refuse to worship the Son. Worship may be considered as consisting, internally, of knowledge, faith, trust, love, reverence, glorying in the object; and, externally, in bending the knee, prayer, praise, thanksgiving, obedience: but all these separate acts of worship are enjoined with reference to our blessed Lord: *knowledge*, 1 John, v. 20: "We know that the Son of God is come; this is the true God and eternal life:" see also 2 Cor. iv. 6; John, viii. 19. *Faith*, John, xii. 44: "He that believeth on me believeth on Him that sent me; see Acts, xvi. 31, compared with 34. *Trust*, Psalm ii. 12: "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry; blessed are all they that put their trust in him." *Love*, John, xv. 23: "He that hateth (loveth not) me, hateth my Father also." *Reverence*, Mark, xii. 6: "They will reverence my Son." *Glorying*, Galat. vi. 14: "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ;" and also in the Magnificat, Luke, i. 46, 47. *Bowing*,

Phil. ii. 10: "At his name every knee shall bow." *Prayer*, Acts, vii. 59: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." *Praise and thanksgiving*, 1 Tim. vi. 16: "To whom be honour and power everlasting." *Obedience*, Luke, vi. 46, 47: "Why call ye me Lord, and do not the things which I command you?"

As the waters of a river flow purest in the neighbourhood of its source, it will add weight, if any were wanted, to this body of proof, if we find that the doctrine of the Trinity was ever held by the primitive church, as is evinced by reference to the writings of the fathers in the three first centuries. Prior to the time of Arius, indeed, the subject is not unfolded at length, neither does the word Trinity occur in the early confessions of faith; for where the belief was implicit and universal, defence or laboured proof was unnecessary. "Nunquid enim perfecte de Trinitate tractatum est antequam oblatrarent Ariani," is the language of Augustine.

Nevertheless, the divinity of our Lord is unequivocally asserted, even by the first fathers, or scholars of the Apostles. In the epistle ascribed to Barnabas, and certainly of the apostolic age, our Saviour is identified with God the Father, by being described as the Lord who suffered for our souls, although in creation he said, Let us make man in our own image. Ig-

natus expressly denominates the Lord, Our God, Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Son of man. (Ignatius in Theod. Dial. Immutab.) This and similar expressions are quoted by Theodoret, A. D. 449, nearly a century before the interpolations suspected in the writings of Ignatius were affirmed to have been made.

“We declare unto you, O Greeks,” says Tatian, “that God was born in the form of a man.” (Edit. Paris, 1615, p. 159.) Irenæus commands every knee to bow to Jesus Christ, our Lord and God (lib. i. chap. ii.); and Eusebius, after quoting certain psalms and odes of the first age, which celebrate the divinity of Christ, the Word of God, states that this doctrine was asserted by Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clemens, Irenæus, and Melito—all fathers of the second century.

In fact, in writings still extant, several of these fathers, who are in the first descent from the Apostles, express themselves with all clearness on the point in question. “We worship,” says Justin Martyr, “and adore the Father and the Son.” Clemens of Alexandria invokes the three Persons as one God. Athenagoras refutes the charge of Atheism by demanding, How can we, who call upon God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, be accounted Atheists?” (Athenag. ad Colum. Just. Martyr, p. 11, edit. Par. 1615.) A different charge,

that of Tritheism, was preferred by Praxeas, Sabellius, and other Unitarians, against the orthodox Christians ; a proof of their worshipping the Three Persons. Tertullian, in writing against Praxeas, exhibits the doctrine in various views : “ Tres unius substantiæ, et unius statûs, et unius potentiæ, quia unus Deus.” (Tert. adv. Prax. c. ii.) “ Connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracleto, tres afficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero, qui tres unum sunt, non unus ; quomodo dictum erat : Ego et Pater unum sumus, cap. xvi. ;” i. e. one thing, and not one person. Descending from the second to the third century after Christ, we find Origen pronouncing baptism the fountain of grace to him who dedicates himself to the divinity of the adorable Triune Deity (Origen, tom. vi. in Rom.) ; and Cyprian stating, that by the same sacrament Christ delivered the doctrine of the Trinity.

It is perhaps too common, even among orthodox Christians, to regard the doctrine of a triune God as a matter of mere speculation ; not requiring much to be insisted on, because not extending its influence to the heart and practice. If, therefore, we can ascertain several important moral purposes, accomplished by this doctrine wherever it is received, the discovery will not only offer a salutary rebuke to such indifference, but corroborate all the preceding arguments ; inasmuch as the utility of any article

of faith affords strong presumption of its proceeding from the Fountain of truth.

One important purpose to which this doctrine is adapted, and seems necessary, is that of communicating a full assurance to the breasts of offending beings, that the ransom paid for sin is adequate and acceptable. The Socinian acts at least consistently in rejecting altogether the notion of atonement by blood; to the Arian it can infuse but imperfect consolation. For, when we are told that one created being—one being inferior to the Highest—suffered for a created world; an angel or creature, in any sense, for his fellow-creatures; we call to mind that God chargeth even his angels with folly, and are filled with some apprehension and uncertainty with respect to the efficacy of such a vicarial sacrifice. But when the doctrine proposed is, that the highest imaginable Power is the atoning Power, that he who suffered is he who remits, that the appeaser is the appeased, that God was in Christ, reconciling sinners to *himself*,—the penitent can calm the agitation of his mind, and tell himself that all is well. He can in this case, but in no other, repose with security on the atonement, as indeed full, perfect, and all-sufficient.

Again: this doctrine, by enforcing the spiritual nature of God, reminds us of the spiritual worship which he requires. We are called upon

to believe what reason does not comprehend; but not what reason contradicts. Now, in order to believe the Trinity, it is absolutely and peculiarly necessary to divest the divine Being of all materiality; since reason would positively contradict the proposition, that three persons, having any materiality, could be one. God is a Spirit, whose attribute is ubiquity; and therefore there is no contradiction in reason to suppose and to affirm, that the divine nature might be and was united, though in a mysterious manner, to the man Jesus, in order to give efficacy to his sufferings; while Jesus might pray to him as his father, who was in heaven. If God, then, be a Spirit—an all-present Spirit—he is the searcher of all hearts, and must be worshipped, not with feigned service, but in spirit and in truth; and the Trinity is valuable in proportion as it more strongly inculcates this doctrine of divine immateriality, by rendering the belief in it necessary.

Moreover: Christ having taken the manhood into God, hath sat down at the right hand of the Father. Now, believers are told that they are intimately united to their Saviour; that they are very members of his flesh and of his bones: a most powerful motive to their highest exertions in the improvement of divine grace; since, in virtue of this union, and of the words of their Master—“Where I am, there ye shall

be also," the highest places in the heavens are opened to their hopes.

○ Lastly: this mystery weakens not, by dividing, our affections towards the Supreme Being, but strengthens, by multiplying, those tender ties which attach us to him in the bonds of love and of gratitude. When we regard the same Being as the Father, who, in calling us into life, hath placed us in the way of eternal salvation; as the Son, who interposed and suffered in order to restore us to those hopes of happiness which, by transgression, we had forfeited; and as the Holy Ghost, who strengthens and refreshes our frail natures, in that contest against the wiles and power of our adversary, in which we are, on our part, to make our election sure, and to work out our salvation with trembling: when, I say, we concentrate in one God the various attachments which we thus owe to our Creator, our Redeemer, and our Sanctifier; how are we employed, but in contemplating that omnipotent and divine Nature, from whose purity and power we might well recoil, under various phrases and characters of amiableness and kindness? but in adoring a merciful Being, whom we find to have exerted and expended all the best attributes and perfections and capacities of his nature, for the welfare of fallen creatures? What love, what gratitude, naturally spring up in the breast, as resulting from such views of the almighty and

eternal Sovereign!—The purest motives to the purest service! for, while he hath himself, in the person of Christ, specified the keeping of his commandments, as the evidence and test of love, we know that this obedience is the most acceptably and the most effectually performed, when it flows from so celestial a principle.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE II.

 Contents.

- I. *Tranquillity of the English Church.*—II. *Licentiousness of Manners: Drinking; Gaming; Dishonesty; the Drama; Novels.*—III. *Infidelity.*—IV. *Infidel Writers: Hobbes, Collins, Woolston, Tindal.*—V. *Hume, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke.*—VI. *Replies: Warburton, Leland, Lardner, Doddridge, Gibson, Sherlock, Secker, West, Lord Lyttelton.*—VII. *Differences among Churchmen: Warburton and Law; Middleton and Dodwell.*—VIII. *Society for Reformation of Manners.*—IX. *Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts; and Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.*—X. *Raine's Hospital; Magdalene; Asylum.*—XI. *Acts of Parliament relating to Colleges; to Quakers, Jews, Marriages, &c.*—XII. *Learned Divines.*—XIII. *Learned Dissenters.*—XIV. *Methodists: History.*—XV. *Statement and Refutation of their Tenets.*—XVI. *Moravians.*—XVII. *Hutchinsonians.*—XVIII. *Swedenborgians.*

I. **I**T happens to the church as to individuals: they have naturally recourse to God, and seek him in the day of calamity; but, in the calm of prosperous affairs, become thoughtless, indo-

lent, luxurious, and inattentive to the Giver of good.

When George II. ascended the throne, the Church of England reposed in tranquillity. Ecclesiastical controversies were lessened in number and violence. Those watchwords of opposition, the terms High and Low Church, had passed from religion to politics, and were insensibly mitigated into Court and Country Party; and among the prelates who adorned this portion of history we find the names of Butler, Gibson, King, Secker, Lowth, and Warburton*.

II. But, notwithstanding these advantages, the practice of real piety had experienced a melancholy decline, and licentiousness overspread the land.

A motion in the House of Lords, for altering the duties on spirituous liquors, and permitting them to be again sold with less restraint, occasioned a debate, in which some of the speakers took a retrospect of the gradual progress made by the people in dissipation, and on the connexion of intoxication with crime. In truth, spirituous liquors may be considered as the poisoned fountain, whence flows almost all the profligacy of the poor. Their excessive abuse

* In 1714 Convocation drew up a form of receiving converts from Popery.—Wilk. Com. v. 4. p. 660.

of this liquid excitement caused an additional duty to be laid on the distillery of malt. It is, indeed, the highest wisdom of the legislature to adopt such regulations, as shall at once supply the public revenue, and improve or leave uninjured the morals of the community. More effectually to prevent the pernicious habit of dram-drinking, it would be advisable to lower the excise on the more healthful beverages of beer and ale, and the customs on tea and coffee; while the duties on spirits should be heightened till they amount to a prohibition, and smuggling or privately distilling made death without benefit of clergy. This, with the total abandonment of lotteries, is the reform which Great Britain requires; and until such reduction of expenditure takes place as shall admit of it, every other expedient is only "beating the entrenched air." Low gambling, a kindred evil with dram-drinking, prevailed at the same time; and, as vice rarely maintains itself by the slow progress of regular industry, intemperance and gambling introduced fraud and dishonesty. Thieves, robbers, murderers, are reported to have become more desperate and savage, than ever since mankind were civilized. These evils were increased by the growing immorality of the drama; which seemed to delight in flinging a lustre round indecency and profaneness, and in waging open warfare against temperance,

soberness, and chastity. This abuse of an entertainment so rational, when well regulated, induced the legislature, in 1735, to pass a bill, reinstating the Lord Chamberlain in his authority as censor of the stage.

Together with Dryden and Vanbrugh, Congreve was attacked by JEREMY COLLIER, in his *Exposure of the Immorality of the Stage*; and, in truth, were the theatre what these dramatists have sought to make it, the censor would bear along with him the approbation and assent of all men of sense and principle. On Congreve's reply, Dr. Johnson has well remarked, that it has his antagonist's coarseness, but not his strength. The same subject has of late years been ably treated by Mr. Plumtree, who has published a *Shakspeare Expurgatus*.

For that Newgate pastoral, that gala of highwaymen and pickpockets, *The Beggar's Opera*, Gay might well be included in the same censure. Bishop Herring, in a sermon preached at Lincoln's Inn, took occasion to inveigh against the immorality of this drama; and Swift, very disgracefully to his character as a clergyman, replied in the *Intelligencer*, that the arraigned production would do more good than a thousand sermons of so stupid, so injudicious, and so prostitute a divine. Well might the Church, and even religion, be affirmed to be in danger—well might this reign be distinguished as the

dynasty of vice, when so unprincipled an entertainment rose into popularity, and could receive the homage of such a vindicator.

The novel is akin to the drama, and, in common with it, will partly influence and partly indicate the purity or corruption of national morals. Fielding wrote to supply his passion for dissipation: Tom Jones is too attractive by its wit, and too destructive by its licentiousness. In the *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *Grandison*, Richardson has been said, by Dr. Johnson, to have served the cause of religion, by benefiting that of morals, and by teaching the passions to move at the command of virtue. Watts, however, early detected the improprieties in Pamela; which, he observed, a modest woman could hardly read without blushing. The evils occasioned by exhibiting the details of seduction are, in truth, not counteracted by holding it up to condemnation. Let our journalists attend to this. *A cold moral* to a licentious narrative is as a drop of water to extinguish a conflagration.

III. Infidelity is oftener the effect than the cause of immorality. For the few who become vicious in consequence of having reasoned away their belief, there are multitudes who labour to discredit their belief as a specious justification of their vices. Infidelity is a convenient reply to the censures of strictness, and an opiate to

the risings of remorse. Men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. It is not, therefore, matter of wonder, that so free an indulgence in evil propensities as we have here described, should pave the way for a general disbelief in the everlasting truths of the Gospel.

IV. *Hobbes's Leviathan*, and the Oracles of Reason, formed the chief repositories from which other writers, who followed in the same walk of darkness, malevolence, and mischief, drew their materials and their arguments*. One would imagine that men enveloped in the gloom of doubt and disbelief, would blush for their shame, or weep over their unhappiness; that they would seek to hide their melancholy conclusions from every eye; and, if a spark of pity remained, would spare their brethren the

* “ Infidelity is an exotic weed, which had no fixed rooting in this cold climate till the heat of our civil distractions gave room for the Leviathan to bring it in, and, in process of time, for the Oracles of Reason to make it grow.”—Stackhouse.

Hobbes believed the sovereign magistrate to be the interpreter of Scripture, and the only prescriber of its doctrines. The fear of power invisible, said he, coupled with belief in tales, allowed, is religion; not allowed, superstition. He maintained that there is no moral obligation antecedent to civil laws; and derided a future state. Lord Clarendon; Harrington, in his *Oceana*; Cumberland, Cudworth, and Tension, severally exposed his errors. With all his infidelity, he had a dread of apparitions; and was afraid of being left alone.

misery of parting with a fond hope, which, even in the remote possibility of its proving an illusion, would be still most consolatory to suffering humanity. Vain mockery! to tell me you are striving to render me happy, while you are bereaving me of my only stay—while you are cruelly extinguishing my hopes and consolations—and shutting me out from the sweet light of heaven for ever and ever! What, then, can make infidels the willing heralds of a curse, and the zealous apostles of despair? What, then, can inspire them with so ardent a spirit of conversion, as though they were impatiently bearing the gladdest of tidings, and communicating the happiest of discoveries? Whence that compassing of heaven and earth to make a proselyte? Is it, that, thus alienated from God and from truth, they contract the temper of fiends, and delight in making others every whit as destitute, as hopeless, as bad as themselves? Or is it, that darkness MAY lead to a precipice; that they shudder and tremble in the midst of it; and are glad to gather assurance, as they grope their dismal way, by stretching forth their hand and finding that they have a companion?

Be this as it may, infidelity is cowardly and artful: it never advances in bold and direct attack, or unveils at once the frightfulness of its visage; it searches the weak and accessible parts

of the human character, and approaches, under favour of some alluring harmlessness, till it obtains sufficient footing to be secure in the full disclosure of all its horrible proportions. “The Rights of the Christian Church asserted,” was an insidious publication, issued by a society of infidels, professing only to resist the encroachments of Popery, and thus stealing by surprise on the prejudices of unwary alarmists; while their real aim was to strike a blow at all Christian ordinances; nay, to assail the very existence of a Christian ministry and of a Christian church. With the same insinuating professions and oblique malignity, the association next published “A Discourse of Freethinking;” a production addressed to the light and thoughtless, as the former was more gravely adapted to affect the serious. These, however, were no more than the first essays of infidelity—the cautious feelings of its way; and though the ministers of the Church were vilified, and its mysteries ridiculed, the great proofs of its divine truth and authority remained untouched.

COLLINS made a bolder, though still covert attack; and, under pretence of zeal for the Jewish dispensation, and the literal interpretation of Sacred Writ, endeavoured to discredit the evidence of prophecy: while WOOLSTON, by affecting to exalt the actions and miracles of

Christ into a spiritual meaning, strove to call his miraculous agency into question.

Following up these attempts to shake the external evidences of our faith, Tindal with equal dexterity assailed its internal proofs, in his book, entitled, "Christianity as old as the Creation; or, the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature." Here the unaided power of reason is represented as a sufficient guide in all matters of religion, and natural theology opposed to revelation. Far be it from us to judge concerning the views of any writer; but that man cannot be innocent, who wantonly advances doctrines of which he foresees the effect to be liberation from all restraint, the unbounded indulgence of corrupt appetites, and riot in lawless gratifications. To plead a love of truth as an apology for pestiferous writings, is perhaps too overweening a confidence in the alleged motives, and certainly the assumption of a dangerous responsibility*.

* Tindal, with much learning and strong reasoning powers, had all the trick and disingenuousness of infidel writers. Daring on the brink of the grave, he had attained his seventy-third year when he published *Christianity as old as the Creation*. The very title of this work is false and imposing; it leads us to suppose his object to have been a representation of the Gospel, as confirming the law of nature: but he plainly attempts to dismiss revelation altogether, by stating the need of it to have been precluded by natural theology.

V. This phalanx of infidelity was now strengthened and emboldened by the accession of David Hume, a subtle, penetrating, and sarcastic philosopher. His first publication, which appeared in 1738, entitled, "A Treatise of human Nature," not receiving the notice and opposition which he coveted and courted, he changed its form to the more popular one of separate Essays; and speedily rejoiced in the publicity, regardless concerning the tendency, of the work. By the many answers which appeared, he confessed that his vanity was gratified, and congratulated his production on having established itself in good company. Of all those who entered the lists with this insidious writer, none more successfully controverted his positions than BEATTIE, in his "Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in opposition to Scepticism and Sophistry."

Hume being a materialist, and Berkeley denying the existence of matter, this writer has taken occasion to observe, in his Moral Science, that, betwixt them, these philosophers had voted the abolition of the universe.

An attempt having been made, favoured by this current of opinion, to revive the philosophy of Shaftesbury, his principles were now re-examined and ably refuted, in Dr. Brown's elegant Essay on the Characteristics. In 1754 the posthumous lucubrations of Lord Boling-

broke, another noble author distinguished as a sceptic and infidel, were presented to the world, like a Pandora's box, only without hope, by his worshipper, David Mallett. "Bolingbroke," said Dr. Johnson, "was at once a scoundrel and a coward:—a scoundrel for loading the blunderbuss of infidelity up to the muzzle; and a coward, in leaving David Mallett to draw the trigger*."

VI. "But, happily, an age so fertile in poisonous fruits, abounded not less in beneficial antidotes. Not only the clergy, the proper guardians of the truth, brought forth their strong reasons, but the cause of religion found other vindicators, who, though not profession-

* Mallett aped the opinions of his noble predecessor, and used frequently to reason, at his own table, and in presence of his domestics, against the credibility of a future existence. In a short time one of them, as might naturally have been predicted, disappeared with the family plate; but being apprehended, and interrogated what could induce him to the perpetration of so bold and dangerous a crime—"My master," replied he, coolly, "has so very frequently, in my hearing, ridiculed the idea of a life after the present, that, in truth, I did not conceive myself as doing any thing wrong."—"Yes; but, you rascal," answered Mallett, "had you no fear of being hanged?"—"And pray, Sir," said the culprit, "what have you to do with that? You yourself took off the GREATER fear; and, when that was gone, I found not much difficulty with the lesser."—See Davies's Life of Garrick.

ally engaged in its defence, were vitally interested in its triumph*."

A course of Sermons, preached by WARBURTON at Lincoln's Inn, and entitled, "*The Principles of natural and revealed Religion occasionally opened and explained*," was published to counteract the effect of Bolingbroke's philosophy, which deprived the Supreme Being of his providential eye, and stripped him of his moral attributes; regarding him only as the great First Cause and original Maker of all things: a frigid homage, akin in all its effects to atheism.

Church, too, having received assistance from Archbishop Secker, appeared among the many annotators on the works of the noble unbeliever. Bolingbroke died of a cancer in his cheek.—Did Heaven mean to remind him that there is a Providence which can punish?

Churchmen and sectaries, forgetful of their differences, now united in amicable support of the common cause; and Leland, Lardner, and Doddridge, deserve honourable mention, together with Butler, Chandler, Sherlock, and Gibson. The three admirable pastoral letters of Bishop Gibson were intended as a check to the earlier freethinkers. Tindal's book was answered by *Waterland* and by *Simon Brown*; and when Waterland's "*Vindication*"

* Brewster's Secular Essay.

was found fault with by Conyers Middleton, in Pearce, the Bishop of Rochester, it found an able defender. Whoever wishes to study this protracted controversy, may consult Dr. *Wall's Caveat against Infidelity*; *Campbell's* work, *proving the Apostles no Enthusiasts*; Broughton and Burnet in reply to Tindal; and Conybeare's excellent *Defence of natural Religion*.

At this period, "The Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus," written by Sherlock, was read with admiration by all ranks. But the propositions there proved were too hostile to vice, to be embraced by the profligate part of the community, who bought up with avidity the deistical answer of Annet. Annet was one of the few infidels in this century who felt the force of the secular arm, having been sentenced in the Court of King's Bench, in 1762, to imprisonment and the pillory. To alleviate this severity, Secker, during his confinement, offered him pecuniary assistance; but this he did not live to enjoy. Thus, warring with principles and not with men, this humane prelate, on various occasions, relieved the necessities of infidel authors, while he strenuously laboured to combat or suppress their publications*.

* The two most satisfactory replies to the pernicious tracts of Annet, were occasioned by a remarkable change of con-

VII. Warburton's "*Divine Legation of Moses, demonstrated on the Principles of a religious Deist, from the Omission of the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments in the Jewish Dispensation;*" was published in several volumes, at different intervals; and hence the discussions it occasioned were lasting, and frequently renewed. The chief opponent whom this prelate had to encounter, was that learned and able visionary, *William Law*.

A controversy not less violent was generated

viction in the minds of their several authors. Gilbert West and Lord Lyttelton had both been infidels, and, being smitten with the usual spirit of apostleship, agreed to array their objections to Scripture in regular form; West assailing the Evangelists, and Lord Lyttelton the Epistles. But, in prosecuting the inquiry, both were visited with the beams of truth; and, in 1747, the former published his "*Observations on the History and Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ;*" being a developement of the process by which his own mind had settled in belief. For this work the University of Oxford complimented him with an honorary degree of LL. D. In his retreat from public life, at Wickham, in Kent, he was frequently visited by his noble friend; and in these hours of retirement from the tumult of debate, Lord Lyttelton received the happy spark of conviction. Then, as though he acknowledged his resemblance to the great Apostle of the Gentiles, in the dropping of the scales from the eyes of both at the moment of meditated persecution, he communicated to the world his treatise already mentioned, the "*Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul.*"

by Warburton's reply, in 1748, to *Dr. Middleton's Free Inquiry into the miraculous Powers supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church from the earliest Ages through several successive Centuries*. This work was a weak defence of revelation, which injured the reputation of the early Christian fathers; yet it is doubtful whether there be any one well-authenticated miracle subsequent to the days of the Apostles. Warburton was the most powerful antagonist of this author. Dodwell and Church likewise mingled in the controversy; the latter receiving assistance from Archbishop Secker.

VIII. The Society for promoting the Benefits of Religion, and for encouraging Reformation of Manners, was not wholly extinguished, when so strongly required, at the conclusion of the reign of George II. To relieve poor families—to place them in trades and methods of livelihood adapted to their several capacities—to liberate prisoners—to maintain orphans—to promote the studies of indigent scholars at the sister universities, by pecuniary assistance;—were some among its multifarious modes of beneficence: but its chief object was the diffusion and improvement of religious knowledge; the indirect but only certain method of promoting advances in morality. This Society did not separate itself from the Church, or court an alliance with Dissenters, as though it deemed the

established religion insufficient of itself for the great purposes of reformation. Prayers were promoted in the churches, sermons and lectures instituted, and measures adopted for the suppression of Popery. Yet a zeal thus directed to the strengthening of the Establishment was leavened with no spirit of persecution or of intolerance; it was distinguished, in all its energies, by philanthropy, meekness, and moderation.

IX. This Society proved the germ of several excellent charitable institutions, some of which were incorporated by royal charter.

Concerning the usefulness of the *Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts*, and the *Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*, no doubt can be entertained. The former having been confined to the plantations, colonies, and factories belonging to Britain, beyond the sea, by the charter of incorporation; the original members enlarged their views, under the character of a voluntary association, distinct from their corporate capacity. They encouraged the erection of charity-schools; in which children were at once taught religious and useful knowledge, and trained in paths of industry. They dispersed, and sold at a reduced price, Bibles, Prayer Books, and valuable religious tracts. They established missions in various parts of the East Indies. Directing an eye of benevo-

lence to Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, the Society, in 1720, ordered Testaments, Psalters, Catechisms, and Abridgments of the Bible, to be printed in Arabic, at their expense. At home or abroad, it may be truly affirmed, that grace was in all their steps. They promoted work-houses in villages for the encouragement of industry; relieved, in 1732, the Protestants in Salzburg; and sent forth a colony of these distressed emigrants to Georgia. From 1743 to 1768, they were employed in translating into Welsh, the Bible, Psalter, and Catechism; in opening schools in the Scilly Islands; and in printing Bibles and tracts in the Manks language. Ever since that period they have been unwearied in the cause of truth; which their labours have preserved continually in its pure simplicity, untainted by enthusiasm, and by any of the vain changes of opinion, which, at different times, have pleaded for adoption. And, highly to their praise, they have not deemed their zeal incompatible with an attachment to the Established Church; whose prosperity they have studied, and whose adversaries they have opposed. Latterly, since several associations have sprung up, which, either under the aspect of general zeal for religion, or the pretence of attachment to the Establishment, have been judged to militate against its interests, the Bartlett's Buildings Society, as the older institu-

tion is now termed, from the place of assembling, in Holborn, has proved a rallying point to the orthodox adherents of the national church; and, having received an accession of numbers and of wealth, has displayed a redoubled activity.

X. The numerous charitable institutions which adorn the British metropolis, have been finely compared by Burke to electrical conductors, averting the thunderbolts of Heaven from a profligate nation. Charities which, in other countries, would be esteemed as noble public foundations, have been here frequently established by the munificence of an individual. Such was the *hospital of Raine*, for the endowment and maintenance of forty poor maidens, members of the Church of England. Of a more public nature was the MAGDALENE charity, for rescuing unhappy prostitutes from the paths of vice; and the ASYLUM FOR FEMALE ORPHANS deserted by their parents. These sister establishments, contiguous in situation, and both instituted in the latter part of the reign of George II. have been mainly supported by the eloquence of eminent preachers; whose pleadings have replenished the fountains of benevolence, and sweetened the truths of the Gospel.

XI. When George I. visited Cambridge in 1717, Bentley, as divinity professor, demanded of Conyers Middleton and others an extra fee of

four guineas each, on their appointment, by the royal mandate, to the degree of D. D. Middleton paid the fee, and commenced his action for the recovery of it; but Bentley, contemning the decree of the university, was degraded.

By the subsequent discussions it was ascertained that the king's courts can interfere, as supreme visitors, in the private regulations of a college, for Bentley was restored to all his honours. The universities, indeed, were a leading object of attention with Parliament during the present reign. It was decreed, that when the visitor and the head of a college visited were one and the same person, the king may grant a mandamus. A separate act restrained the disposition of lands in mortmain, whereby they became unalienable; but a clause exempted from its operation the universities and the three public schools. No college, however, was suffered to possess advowsons exceeding in number the moiety of its fellows.

While universities were thus favoured, their members received an immunity from the *pecuniary* qualifications for a magistrate or member of parliament. Vintners within these seats of learning were subject to control; and theatres were wholly prohibited.

Acts were passed inflicting penalties on profane swearing, in which flag officers are peculiarly distinguished; preventing persons bene-

fited by a will from being witnesses of it; directing that natural children should be supported by their fathers; compelling clerks, six months after induction, to take the several oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, at Westminster or the Quarter Sessions; and directing letters of orders for the episcopal clergy in Scotland to be issued only by English or Irish Bishops. In 1752 the Calendar was rectified by Parliament, and eleven days thrown out as redundant in passing from the old to the new style.

There were also acts inflicting penalties on pawnbrokers who knowingly received stolen property, and on publicans suffering the low gambling of tradesmen in their houses*.

In 1736, the Quakers petitioned Parliament, representing, that while their consciences persuaded them to refuse the payment of tithes, church-rates, oblations, and other ecclesiastical dues, they were liable to sore distress from prosecutions in the Exchequer, the spiritual, and other courts, tending to the imprisonment of their persons and the ruin of their families. Counter petitions were presented by the clergy of Middlesex and other districts; and the bill, after passing through the Lower House, was thrown out by the Lords. While a bill,

* Smollett.

however, empowered justices of the peace to distrain for tithes, it guarded against the exercise of undue severity towards the Friends. In admitting the affirmation of this Society in courts of justice, Parliament likewise relaxed the oath of the Moravian Brethren into the simpler form, "I declare, in the presence of Almighty God, who is witness of the truth of what I say."

A bill for naturalizing the Jews was brought into Parliament in 1753, and excited warm discussion. While the ministry wished for friends in an accession of the monied interest, others apprehended an irruption of usurers and the competition of penurious tradesmen. Some even dreaded the spread of Judaism, of all fears the most preposterous. This bill was enacted in one session; but popular clamour, illiberal jealousies, and bigoted sentiments prevailing, occasioned its repeal the following year. This intended boon to the seed of Israel was favoured by the Bishops, who conceived that it would by no means interfere with the appointment of the Almighty in scattering them over the earth. They would still have remained a living and perpetual miracle; a peculiar race in the midst of other nations, flowing forward like the current of the Rhone, without mixing with the waters of the lake through which they pass.

Nearly at the same period the celebrated Act for preventing clandestine marriages received the sanction of the Legislature. It is generally considered as a just medium betwixt the disgraceful irregularities which formerly prevailed in the celebration of this ceremony, when, according to the civil historian, a man walked at the door of the Fleet Prison, inviting ladies and gentlemen to walk in and be married; and the tyrannical measure of imposing too close a restraint on so important an ingredient in the happiness of society*.

* In this bill the following provisions were contained: Banns shall be published on three successive Sundays, during service, in the church of each parish in which the parties dwell. No license, except an Archbishop's special one, shall be given for marriage in a place where one of the parties has not resided one month; marriages in which these rules have not been complied with are void, and the person performing them shall suffer a transportation of fourteen years. Marriages between parties under age, without consent of parents, are void; unless the party be a widow, or the parent a widow in a second state of marriage. When the parent is non compos mentis, or beyond sea, or refuses his consent from caprice, the minor shall seek relief in the court of Chancery. No suit for the celebration of any marriage on pretence of contract shall be commenced. Every marriage shall be celebrated in the presence of two witnesses, and those by license betwixt the hours of eight and twelve in the morning. A register shall be kept, in which the particulars of the nuptials shall be entered, to be signed by the minister, the parties, and the witnesses. Here it ought to be mentioned

In 1781 an attempt was made, but without success, to repeal this Act. It was now discovered that all marriages which had been celebrated in churches or chapels erected since the passing of the Act were void, the Act having declared that the celebration of nuptials in places where banns had not usually been published was null from the beginning. A bill to rectify this mistake, and to remedy its mischiefs, was immediately hurried through both Houses.

Bills were agitated, A. D. 1759, for the benefit of insolvent debtors, and for employing the poor in workhouses. This latter proposal

whether either party is under age, and if so, whether the consent of parents has been obtained. A false license or certificate, or the destruction of a register, is felony, and incurs death either in principal or accessory.

The opposers of this bill objected that it would damp the flame of love, promote mercenary marriages, injure population, retain the wealth of the kingdom among great families, encourage fornication, subject the poor to expense, and increase the power of the Chancellor. After all, a trip to Scotland gets rid of every impediment it offers.

Blackstone errs in affirming that Innocent III. in 1216, was the first who celebrated marriage in the church, and that prior to that time it was a civil contract. It appears from Ignatius, A. D. 108, Tertullian, A. D. 196, Augustine, 597, a decree of the African Council, 398, and a law of the Saxon Edmund, A. D. 940, that the holy bond of marriage was ratified by an ecclesiastic in much earlier ages.

has never succeeded; and while the world lasts, it is feared, will never prosper. WORK-HOUSES are veritable *luci à non lucendo*.

Against a clause in the Militia Bill for drilling on Sunday, several bodies of Dissenters and serious Christians remonstrated. "Nothing," observes Smollett, "could be more ridiculously fanatic and impertinent than such a scruple in a country where the Sunday is usually spent in merry-making, rioting, and feasting; yet Parliament listened to these puritanical petitioners, and changed the day of exercise to Monday." To this impiety, two answers may be returned. First, the accusation is not true: and, secondly, if it were, the petitioners were not the rioters.

XII. Archbishop WAKE intermingled in the Romish fray, by publishing a variety of Tracts on the Eucharist, on Indulgences, on Transubstantiation, and, generally, on the Council of Trent. His CHIEF production is his STATE OF THE CHURCH, and his least happy one his English Version of the Apostolical Fathers; since he has therein failed in his attempt to prove that miraculous powers were continued down to their times. As metropolitan, Wake defended the supremacy of the Crown against Popery on the one hand, and on the other the authority of the Church against Dissenters. He opposed Hoad-

ly's design for repealing the Corporation and Test Acts *.

JOHN BROWN, the critic on the Characteristics of Shaftesbury, is not to be confounded with the Dissenter, *Simon Brown*, who replied to Woolston and Tindal. These both belonged

* His correspondence with Dupin of the Sorbonne, relative to the practicability of effecting an union betwixt the churches of England and Rome, evinces his zeal to have been candid and moderate; yet amenity or politeness never suffered him to depart from any one article of the English Church. Dupin projected to accede to the Eucharist in both kinds, the service in the vulgar tongue, the non-invocation of saints, and the marriage of the clergy; but the Jesuits put a stop to the arrangement.

For a sermon on the text, "Charity covereth a multitude of sins," ATTERBURY was attacked by Hoadly, as having affirmed that God will receive one duty, such as alms-giving, in lieu of many others; and he had doubtless laid himself but too open to this charge. In 1700, he had taken part with Wake in investigating the rights of Convocation, for which service he received a diploma of D. D. from Oxford; but Burnet, Tennison, and Chief Justice Holt conceived him to have attacked the royal prerogative. He obtained a bishopric in order to remove him from Christ Church, where his tyrannical disposition had thrown the college into broils. Smallridge, his successor in several preferments, complained of being obliged to carry a pitcher of water in order to extinguish the flames which this intemperate precursor had kindled. In exile he wrote on the times of the four Gospels. His composition and delivery of sermons are strongly praised in the *Tatler*.

to the family of ingenious madmen. The former terminated his life by suicide, in consequence of the failure of a plan for civilizing Russia; and the latter at length believed that his rational soul had perished, while his body and the living principle only remained.

WATERLAND was another luminary of this era not less conspicuous. He contended with Clarke and Whitby in various tracts; and his defences of the Trinity are perhaps the ablest that have ever been written.

PEARCE, who took part with Waterland against Middleton, wrote a curious treatise on the temple of Dagon, and a commentary on the Evangelists and Acts.

BERKELEY's celebrated notion, that sensible material objects are not external to the mind, but exist within it, and are only impressions made there by God, according to certain rules called laws of nature, was an attempt to silence those sceptics whose systems would fall to the ground if the existence of matter could be disproved. Beattie with truth replies, that if such an opinion be true, it would confirm rather than dispel scepticism; for it would prove that false which all men believe to be true every moment of their lives, and that true which no man ever believed seriously. Reid and Dugald Stewart have since exploded this theory as

contrary to common sense. Happy that Christianity is independent of such support.

Non tali auxilio; nec defensoribus istis

Tempus eget *.

Besides eight occasional sermons, Bishop CHANDLER published, in answer to Collins, "*A Defence of Christianity drawn from Prophecy.*" Hence arose a war of replies and rejoinders.

Of Bishop GIBSON's life, the earlier part was chiefly dedicated to classical studies and antiquarian research. In 1713 he published his

* Berkeley at one time received from Steele a guinea and a dinner for every paper he wrote in the Guardian. He obtained an accession of fortune in a legacy bequeathed him by Swift's Vanessa, Miss Vanhomrigh. By having written, in 1712, on passive obedience and non-resistance, he disobliged the Hanover family; and his views of preferment were thus obstructed. Berkeley was a valetudinarian, and promulgated a treatise on the benefits of tar-water. Arbuthnot made merry with one of his maladies, by calling it the idea of a fever. In 1725 he passed over to America, to give effect to his plan of a college for civilizing the natives; but the money vested by Parliament for furthering the object having been diverted by Sir R. Walpole to a different use, the scheme entirely failed. This idealist's "*Minute Philosopher*" is an attack on infidelity in all its forms and degrees. On being solicited to accept a translation from Cloyne, he declared his desire to add one to the list of those ecclesiastics who are evidently dead to ambition and avarice. Atterbury observed, in speaking of this prelate, that he did not, before knowing him, imagine that so much understanding, knowledge, innocence, and humility had been the portion of any but angelic beings.

“*CODEx JURIS ECCLESIASTICI ANGLICANI*; or Statutes, Canons, Constitutions, Rubrics, and Articles of the Church.” As he advanced in life, his mind appeared to settle and subside more and more into conversance with the doctrinal and practical departments of his profession. From his counsels emanated the Whitehall lecture, or the stated preaching of sermons in the Banqueting-house, by twelve divines drawn equally from Oxford and Cambridge.

GIBSON opposed the Dissenters when they trespassed too far on toleration, and the Quakers when they attempted to obtain a liberation from tithes. Till now he had been regarded as heir apparent to the see of Canterbury: but this latter opposition highly offended Sir R. Walpole; and his interest declined further through his objection to the promotion of Rundle, whom he suspected of Deism, to a bishopric; but chiefly by reason of his boldness in remonstrating with the King on the vicious nature and evil tendency of court masquerades. His celebrated *PASTORAL LETTERS*, his Charges and Sermons, have been often reprinted both in England and Ireland. He edited a collection of tracts against Popery, written in the reign of James II. His Discourses against Infidelity were published by Addison.

The mild temper of HERRING was averse from controversy, and he expressed an abhorrence

or all Trinity disputes. On this account his orthodoxy has been suspected, though unjustly; but a head of the Church is guilty of unpardonable lukewarmness, who can calmly suffer its vital doctrines to be arraigned, and plead for his passiveness the uncharitableness of controversy. Unless the assailants could likewise be brought to forbear, such affected charitableness is mere cant. A few Letters and Sermons are the only remains of Herring*.

In the rear of these dignitaries may be placed *Bishop Hoadly*, a Judas in some respects to the orthodox cause, which he received ample revenues to support. He had a dispute with Hare on the necessity of ardour in devotion, which Hare asserted and his antagonist denied. Nearly a Dissenter in principle, he held that sincerity

* Pocock, Bishop of Ossory, illustrated sacred antiquities by his well-known Travels in the East. Dingwall and Dartmouth are said to have excited his feelings by their striking resemblance to Jerusalem. In Ireland he used to ride like an Arabian sheik, with five servants at measured distances behind him. He is not to be confounded with Pocock, the learned Orientalist who flourished in the period of the Commonwealth; who had a hand in the English Polyglot, and published the yet unedited portions of the Syriac New Testament. While thus learned, the Arabic Professor judiciously abstained from all quotations and language in his parish church of Childley which might be above the comprehension of his hearers; insomuch that a peasant being asked who was his pastor, replied, "One Mr. Pocock, a plain honest man; but master, they say, is no Latiner."

in any error will be accepted as sufficient repentance; which, by the way, very few Dissenters will themselves allow *.

Thus do men, canting about toleration and liberality, exercise towards Dissenters a liberality not exercised in return, and weakly give an advantage to vigilant and keen antagonists. It is surrendering the outposts of a fortress, and pleading the humanity of sparing lives. POTTER animadverted on Hoadly's notions of sincerity.

Claggett entered the lists both with Dissenters and Romanists. His sermons are posthumous publications, and might as well have slept in his sepulchre, for with their author they have returned to dust. Stebbing's Oration is a trifle poor and jejune. Not so the masterly discourses of Sherlock, so much, so justly, and so permanently admired for seriousness, solidity, and sound theology †.

* Some one having observed, at the table of Archbishop Secker, that the Monthly Reviewers were Christians, "If they are," replied the Primate, "it is secundum usum Winton."

† Sherlock rose quickly to honours and dignities in the Church. His *Use and Intent of Prophecy* was an answer to Collins. During the Bangorian controversy, he wrote likewise *A Vindication of the Corporation and Test Acts*. His public charities were numerous; and at the suggestion of the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts, he published at his own expense 2000 copies of his Discourses for dispersion in America and the islands. The celebrated pas-

The excellent SEED was curate to Waterland at Twickenham, and there spent the greater part of his life. His Sermons are distinguished for imagery and scriptural allusion.

LAW was for some time tutor to Gibbon the historian; who, though he reflects no great credit on his master in regard to religious teaching, has the candour to record his merits as a worthy Christian, who believed all he professed, and practised all he enjoined. But though his piety by degrees degenerated into quietism, and his last works are tinged with the incomprehensible mysteries of Jacob Behmen, of his eminent abilities no doubt was ever entertained. He assailed Hoadly on the nature of Christ's Kingdom, as well as on his "Plain Account of the Sacrament," and proved himself more than a match for his mitred antagonist. He likewise ably attacked the objectionable parts in Warburton's learned work, *The divine Legation of Moses*; and exposed the fallacy of that profligate sentiment contained in Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*, that private vices are public benefits. His master-work, the *Serious Call to a devout and holy Life*, is deservedly popular and permanent. Neither Theophrastus nor La Bruyere excelled him in delineating characters; and malice, in sage, "Go to your natural religion," which Blair has styled more than elegant, even truly sublime, made a deep impression on Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.

any age, might apply his sketches to individuals. This book, if it meet a spark of piety in any breast, will quickly kindle it into a flame; and its pure morality is inimical to any observance of the divine will that is less than comprehensive and universal.

“When at Oxford,” says Johnson, “I took up Law’s *Serious Call*, expecting to find it a dull book, as such books generally are, and perhaps to laugh at it. But I found Law quite an overmatch for me; and this was the first time of my thinking in earnest about religion.”

“*The Spirit of Prayer*” and “*The Spirit of Love*” are mystical productions, but replete with unaffected piety.

Newton and Locke supplied Hartley with the first rudiments of his well-known “*Observations on Man*.” The instrumentality of vibrations to sensation and motion he learned from Newton; and from Locke the doctrine of association. Haller has shown that this notion of vibration, itself a gratuitous assumption, attributes to the medullary substance of the brain and nerves, properties of which they are wholly incapable. Priestley laboured hard to prove Hartley a materialist, an imputation which he professed to deprecate; but some tendency to this character, contracted doubtless in his early study of anatomy and physical science, has given his works a popularity and currency in

Germany, that execrable depôt of wild metaphysics and philosophical infidelity. Hartley is introduced in this place chiefly by reason of a small volume of *Prayers and Meditations*, less known than they well deserve to be*.

Divinity and history were to the immortal NEWTON relaxations from severer studies. "God," said he, "governs all things, not as the soul of the world, but as the Lord of the universe. He is omnipresent, not virtually but substantially; for power cannot subsist without substance. A God without dominion, providence, and design, is nothing but fate and nature." Such, ye German metaphysicians and English sciolists; such, ye worshippers of the God of Bolingbroke and Pope,

"Who warms in the sun, and refreshes in the breeze ;"

such, ye pigmy pretenders, was the natural theology of that colossal mind which carried the line and plummet to the farthest

* Ridicule was applied in the service of religion, by Dr. Zachary Grey, a voluminous and miscellaneous writer. He exposed several false notions in Newton's Account of Daniel; exhibited Popery in its proper colours, and compared the Quakers and Methodists. His Vindication of the Church of England, his Century of eminent Presbyterians, and his Looking-glass for Fanatics, repose enshrined in dust: but his Annotations on Neal's History deserve a better fate. He is chiefly known as a commentator on Hudibras.

range of the universe, and discovered the laws which the Deity prescribes unto himself.

Newton's Observations on Daniel and the Apocalypse, were an application of his historical researches to divinity.

BENTLEY, a man of prodigious attainments, and who at the age of twenty-four had written out for himself a Polyglot Bible in six eastern languages, was the first preacher appointed to deliver a course of Boyle's Lectures on the principles of natural and revealed religion. Here he gave Atheism that blow which it has not recovered. Ashamed to walk in open day, it has ever since sheltered itself beneath the mask of Deism. Bentley died 1742. During his controversy with Bishop Hare, respecting the versification of Terence, Whiston justly remarks, that while Grotius, Newton, and Locke, though laymen, were employed in sacred studies, it was shame for these clergymen to be disputing about a play-book.

The promotion of that elegant scholar, CONYERS MIDDLETON, was obstructed by some heterodox opinions and lax sentiments which he broached. With his Life of Cicero we have here no concern. As a divine, he published a "Conformity between Paganism and Popery," the materials of the recently cooked-up letters signed Ignotus. In commenting on Waterland, who had attacked Tindal's work, "Christianity

as old as the Creation," he asserted the Scriptures to be not of universal inspiration, and advanced other notions equally objectionable.

Samuel Clarke, having been appointed to preach the Boyle's Lecture, delivered an able course on *the Being and Attributes of God*. These Sermons procuring his election in the ensuing year, his second subject was the *Evidences of natural and revealed Religion*. Soon after this he disputed with Collins on the immateriality and immortality of the soul. When made rector of St. James's he began to write his Sermons, and prepared them with much care for the press. In 1718, his Arianism began to appear in his altering the doxologies for St. James's church, by making them "To God, THROUGH Christ, his only Son." Many of these were dispersed by the Society for Christian Knowledge, before they were made aware of the alteration. Robinson, Bishop of London, wisely prohibited his clergy from using these mutilated doxologies. Clarke's Sermons and Lectures on the Catechism were animadverted upon by the watchful and orthodox Waterland: and it is certain that any man, entertaining such sentiments as his, shamefully prevaricates in subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles, or in retaining preferment on the implied condition of believing them.

CHANDLER, an eminent Dissenter, formerly

mentioned, was commended by Archbishop Wake for his answer to Collins on Miracles. He had compared George II. in a funeral sermon, to King David; and a ribald publication which followed that discourse, drew forth from this pious man in his own defence, *A History of the royal Psalmist*.

DODDRIDGE was another Dissenter of conspicuous piety and learning. His chief productions are a controversial treatise against "*Christianity not founded in Argument*;" *The Life of Colonel Gardner*; *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*; and his practical *Family Expositor*. He died of a decline at Lisbon, and was there interred; but a cenotaph to his memory was erected by his flock at Northampton.

Leland, who in his sixth year had been seized with the small-pox, which deprived him for twelve months of understanding and memory, on the return of his senses learned his letters anew, and was early bent by his genius to watch the designs of infidelity. He answered "*Christianity as old as the Creation*," assailed *Morgan's "Moral Philosopher*," and exposed the dangerous parts of Bolingbroke's *Letters on History*. For his *View of the Deistical Writers* he was offered only fifty pounds, which induced his friend Dr. Wilson to publish the work at his own expense. The best edition is

Brown's, with an original Appendix, containing A View of Religion in the present Times.

Lardner, the master of Paley, the Columbus of that pilfering Americus, is more celebrated for his Credibility of the Gospel History, than for the orthodoxy of his Gospel principles. His chief work is published among Bishop Watson's Tracts.

When the historian can write in candour without spurious and canting liberality, he rejoices in his most pleasing task. With these eminent sectarians we have to associate Isaac Watts, a divine, a poet, and a philosopher; who has left instructions for lisping infancy, and meditations for profound research. The Logic and Improvement of the Mind are valuable works; but the Divine Songs are in a higher degree stamped with originality and fraught with usefulness. An average of 50,000 copies of his Psalms and Hymns is said to be printed every year.

Among Dissenters, distinguished for abilities and piety, may be numbered Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe. Her memory is perpetuated in her *Letters from the Dead to the Living*, but chiefly in her *Devout Exercises of the Heart*; the aspirations of which work, however, may be pronounced to be too warm for the gelid and trembling delicacy of a pure female.

"*The Religion of Nature delineated*," was at

first intended by Wollaston only for dispersion among his friends; but so highly was it admired, that 10,000 copies were sold. His system includes a belief in particular providence and in the immateriality and immortality of the soul. As he wrote exclusively on natural theology, he has sometimes been considered as a Deist; but this is an unfair inference.

WALL, the able defender of *infant baptism*, wrote in opposition to Gale, Whiston, and Crosby, who all highly extol his candour and piety. So zealous a friend was he to Atterbury, that had that prelate been recalled, he was prepared to light up at his own expense the whole of Whittlebury Forest.

HERVEY wrote the *Meditations*, at Stoke Abbey, in Devonshire; and on visiting the churchyard of Kilkhampton, in Cornwall, planned his *Contemplations among the Tombs*. Of these works the style is turgid and flowery, misleading the young student by its false glitter. Newcome has converted both into blank verse. Hervey was a most amiable and judicious man; clothing the poor, rather than relieving them with money; yet in urgent cases giving, not trifling sums, but secretly four or five guineas at a time.

While Hervey drew down the electricity of virtue from above, and found in the stars of heaven a volume of moral contemplation, Der-

ham inferred from the courses of the same celestial luminaries, the being, providence, and attributes of the Supreme Ruler. Addison first brought the author of the *Astro-theology* into notice, by wishing in the *Spectator* that he were able to bestow upon him the best preferment in the kingdom. He was to Paley the same *sic vos non vobis* in natural theology that Lardner was in the *Evidences*.

In this reign flourished Handel, a master of the sublime in music, who with mortal daring imitated the choruses of heaven. In his monument in Westminster Abbey, his figure is seen pointing to the first words of his own beautiful composition, "I know that my Redeemer liveth."

XIV. The Methodists, (and in deploring the false direction of their zeal may we make reasonable admission of its sincerity!) the Methodists arose in England about the commencement of this reign *. The publications of the infidel writers having become fashionable in the university of Oxford, the Vice-chancellor and heads of colleges published an edict in

* Mosheim—Adams's Religious World displayed—Gregory's Christian Church—Buck's Theological Dictionary—Brewster's Secular Essay—Ingram on Methodism—Essay on Methodism—Portrait of Methodism—Crowther and Myles on Methodism—Legh Hunt's Letters on Methodism—Mant's Bampton Lectures—Nott on Enthusiasm.

1729, directing tutors to enlarge before their respective pupils on the principles of the orthodox faith, and the students to devote an increased attention to subjects of religion. In compliance with this injunction, several pious individuals united themselves for improvement in exercises of piety; and thus laid the foundation, like the huts of Romulus, of a society which hath spread to the furthest parts of the world, and may almost be said to have imprinted a new character on a large portion of every Protestant community. John Wesley, then fellow of Lincoln College; Charles Wesley, student of Christchurch; Morgan and Kirkham, severally of Christchurch and Merton, together with a few pupils of both the Wesleys, constituted the first germ of this association. These were two years afterwards joined by the celebrated Whitfield, and by Ingham, Broughton, and Harvey. Their number now amounted to fourteen, who all, saving the last, afterwards became preachers. Their original employments were reading the Greek Testament, visiting the sick in different parts of the city, and consoling the prisoners confined in the castle. It seems that some ancient physicians, about the time of Nero, had received the name of Methodists, by reason of the regular regimen under which their patients were placed; and this title was transferred to the members of the new association, from the

resemblance of that ancient practice to the regularity of their lives and studies.

Candour will readily admit, that the Methodists were instrumental in stemming that torrent of infidelity which prevailed at the time of their first appearance. Not content with prayer, religious readings, and weekly participations of the Sacrament, to their zeal they annexed charitable contributions. Wesley, having retrenched his own superfluous expenses, proposed a fund for the indigent, which was quickly raised to eighty pounds per annum. The infant association had now acquired sufficient strength to attract the jealous notice of the senate of the university. But being patronized by several men distinguished for learning and virtue, it flourished in defiance of the threatened persecution. A mission to Georgia in order to convert the Indians having been agreed upon, the two Wesleys, accompanied by Mr. Ingham and Mr. Delamotte, embarked, in 1735, for America. At Savannah and Frederica they were at first favourably received; but some differences arising, they all speedily returned.

A connexion, which took place in 1737, between the Moravians and Methodists, introduced Wesley to Peter Bohler, a Moravian teacher, whose conversation produced a change in his notions of saving faith; so that, after the painful service of ten years, he deter-

mined to leave off preaching, but was dissuaded by Bohler, who advised him to preach faith until he should have it, and afterwards because he had it. Under Wesley and Bohler, a small society was assembled in Fetter Lane on the first of May 1738; and this the former considered as the origin of the Methodists in London. But in about two years, Wesley separated himself from the Moravian brethren, having observed some important alterations in their creed.

Previous to this period, Whitfield had opened a new style of preaching in several of the London churches; inveighing against the vices of the clergy, and maintaining the Solifidian doctrines. Hitherto, both he and Wesley had professed a strict attachment to the articles and liturgy of the Established Church, although commonly adopting the Dissenting forms of worship. But their eccentricities and irregularities could not be long endured in the regular pulpits of the Establishment; and Whitfield began to hold forth in the fields and highways. In 1738 he undertook the mission to Georgia, which had failed in the hands of Wesley, and with much higher success.

Meanwhile Wesley, having removed to Bristol, formed a new society of Methodists in that city, and extended his care to the neighbouring colliers of Kingswood, who had lived in much ignorance and profligacy, but were prepared to

receive him by the preaching of Mr. Whitfield. He produced a similar impression on the tinners in Cornwall; not, however, inattentive to the parent society in London, which was rapidly gathering strength.

Soon after this, Whitfield returned from America, and a total separation took place in 1741 betwixt the two leaders; Wesley having defended the Arminian principle of universal redemption, while Whitfield openly broached the Calvinistic doctrines of predestination and particular election.

Of these preachers, Whitfield by his sonorous voice, by the novelty of field oratory, and by that style of exhortation which has been styled rousing, searching, and awakening, drew together the larger assemblies: while Wesley, by a calm and dispassionate simplicity, gained a surer hold on tender natures. Wesley's place of worship was the Foundery in Moorfields, which Whitfield forsook for the open air; though he soon founded a new house in Kingswood, and established a seminary for Calvinistic preachers.

Although the followers of both preachers are to this day termed Methodists, they have little in common except their form of worship; and the appellation properly belongs to the Wesleyans.

From the irregularity of preaching in places

not episcopally consecrated, the admission of lay preachers was an easy advance. Yet the Wesleys still held communion with the Established Church, with which, in opposition to their lay preachers, they were adverse to disunion. In Wesley's last Journal of 1786 and 1787, the separation of some societies is censured. To an impartial observer, it seems a matter of little consequence whether such an heterogeneous body should continue in external conformity to the Church, or depart from it. Better an avowed enemy than a pretended friend. Better the vesture of Christ simple as seamless, than a party-coloured garment.

In propagating their different views, the leaders were equally indefatigable. Whitfield made several voyages to America, and there established an Orphan-house in Georgia. This was afterwards converted into a School of the Prophets; but being supported by a traffic in slaves, it was as a just judgment burnt to the ground.

Dr. Gillies of Glasgow, the annotator on Milton, wrote the life of Whitfield. Wesley has had several biographers; Coke, his successor in the superintendence, Hampson, Whitehead, and Moore; to whom may be now added the voluminous Southey. Both itinerants, however, published, during their lives, accounts of their travels in this kingdom and America;

journals which well elucidate the principles, and describe the progress of the sect. To a volume of Wesley's Letters, Dr. Priestley annexed a preface, expostulating with the Methodists on their tenets, but giving them credit for activity and zeal.

Wesley died in London in 1791, at the advanced age of eighty-eight, and was interred in the Foundery burying-ground. Dr. Coke succeeded him in the care of all the churches; a zealous itinerant, who died in 1812 on his passage to India. His mantle is considered as having fallen on the learned Adam Clarke, who has now, however, retired from the cares of public business.

The Wesleyans are chiefly Arminians, though some of their preachers incline to Baxterianism. This system receives its name from the celebrated Baxter, who admitted the absolute election of some, but denied the unconditional reprobation of any. Various members of the English Church have adopted this hypothesis, as a mode of reconciling the Calvinist and Arminian doctrines.

Whitfield died in his 56th year, at Newbury Port, near Boston in New England, A. D. 1770, and there lies buried. The sect, who were Calvinists, found a warm partisan and patroness in the Countess Dowager of Hunting-

don, and after her decease another in Lady Erskine.

With regard to the discipline of the united societies, rules were, in 1743, circulated for its direction. In these the nature and design of a Methodist association are stated to be, A company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, in order that they may afford mutual help in the working out of their salvation. Each society is divided into classes of about twelve or twenty persons each, one of whom is styled a CLASS-LEADER, appointed in order to advise, reprove, comfort, and exhort his class, as he finds occasion. He is to visit each person of his class once a week, and to solicit from him money for the use of the poor and the success of the Gospel. The class-leader has also to meet the minister and stewards once a week, in order to give notice of any sick or disorderly members, to show his accounts, and to pay his collections. At the weekly meeting of each class an hymn is sung; then follow prayer, conversation respecting Christian experience, and suitable advice delivered by the leader on each particular case.

BAND MEETINGS consist of four or five persons assembling to converse more freely on religious subjects, than could be done in a pro-

miscuous class. The members are presented at every quarterly meeting with a ticket marked B, which will admit the holder into these select meetings. Once in every month, a LOVE-FEAST is observed; and occasionally there is likewise a custom of singing and praying, from eight o'clock in the evening until twelve. This is termed a watch-night; and is a quarterly assemblage, where three or four preachers officiate. None are admitted to the love-feasts without a ticket signifying their being members, or an order from a superintendent. After singing and prayer, plain cake and water are distributed, to denote union in the bonds of love. Several members then usually declare their experience, and a collection is made for the poor; after which the meeting concludes as it had begun, with prayer and spiritual songs. The love-feast is considered as distinct from the Lord's Supper, where bread and wine are used. The former is regarded as an edifying observance; the latter, as a positive institution. The texts, Jude, 12, and 2 Peter, ii. 13, are quoted in defence of the love-feasts. They are always numerously attended; but are not young persons of both sexes, being out at that late hour of darkness, needlessly thrown into circumstances of strong temptation?

A desire to be saved from sin, and to flee from the wrath to come, is the only requisite for admission into these societies; and they expect

this to be manifested by ceasing to do harm, to use no uncharitable or unprofitable conversation (not thinking it at all an infringement of this rule, to abuse the established clergy), to do unto others what we would wish them to do unto us (here the foregoing parenthesis may be repeated), and finally to observe what is most conducive to the glory of Christ, as, abstaining from diversions, from putting on costly apparel, and from the singing of songs or the reading of books inconsistent with the spirit of religion. Here it will be observed, that a greater stress is laid upon violations of sanctity, than on violations of those two important social duties, truth and integrity.

All who continue in the societies are further requested to practise benevolence, both towards the body and soul; including the charities of alms, admonition, and instruction. They must especially do good to those of the household of faith—that is to say, to the Methodists; buying of one another, and employing each other in preference to indifferent persons. For this the reason assigned is curious, viz. because the world loves its own, and speaks all manner of evil of them falsely for the Lord's sake; “as if the world would not repair to the cheapest and honestest dealers, to whatever sect they belonged.” “Get all you can,” was the address of Wesley; “save all you can; GIVE all you can.” This was the burden of the song; and is so to this day: the horse-leech hath two daughters, crying,

Give! give! The Methodists are enjoined, farther, to evince their desire of salvation by attending on all the ordinances of God. These are rules which, it is said, the Spirit of God writes on every truly awakened heart.

To the Wesleyan connexion belong circuits and conferences. Fifteen or twenty congregations, lying round a principal society, generally in a market-town, and no one being more distant from another than twenty miles, are called a circuit. At the annual conference, two, three, or four preachers are appointed to each circuit, according to its extent, which sometimes includes a part of three or four counties. Here, and here only, are they to labour for one year; that is, until the next conference. A continuance of two years is rare. One of the preachers in every circuit is denominated the assistant; or was so called at first, when Wesley, like Moses, made this arrangement, to lighten his own burden of attention. This superintendent inspects the societies and their preachers; enforces the rules every where; and directs the labours of the ministers in association with him. He takes a central station, furnishes the other preachers with a plan of the circuit, and points out the day when each shall be at the place fixed for him, to begin a progressive motion round it, in such order as the plan directs. Thus, like satellites, enlightening every part of the central orb,

the preachers follow each other through all the societies belonging to that circuit, at stated distances of time, all being governed by the same rules, and undergoing the same labour. By this plan, each preacher's daily work is appointed beforehand; each knows every day where the others are; intelligence of the motions of all is delivered from the several pulpits; and each society is aware when to expect the preacher, and how long he will quarter himself upon their families. The preachers are unconscionable spenders; and the humbler members are, by these visitations, and the charitable contributions together, kept in the continual struggles of poverty.

A number of circuits, usually from five to ten, compose a district; the preachers of which assemble annually, for the purposes of examining preachers complained of, in regard to doctrine, practice, or abilities; to order matters relative to the building of chapels; to provide for the support of preachers; and to elect representatives for the conference or general meeting.

To scrutinize the character of every preacher—to change the stations—to regulate the circuits and subordinate assemblies—to review doctrine and discipline—and to arrange the principal business of the connexion—are the chief objects of the conference. The first conference was held in 1744; after which Mr. Wesley presided at forty-seven, in as many successive years. The

minutes of each conference are registered, as rules for the future practice of the society. The preachers are appointed to more or less arduous situations, according, 1st, to their grace—that is, faith and sanctity; 2dly, to their gifts, or talents for preaching; and, 3dly, their fruits, or the numbers they have actually converted. The conference is annually held in some large town, and is the supreme court of Methodism, from which there is no appeal. Its business is generally transacted in a fortnight.

Itinerant preachers are at first admitted as private members of the society; after a quarter of a year's trial, they rise to the rank of proper members: the next step is that of class-leaders, allowed to exhort in the smaller congregations when the preachers cannot attend. If approved in this line of duty, they are permitted to preach. The difference betwixt exhorting and preaching, it may here be proper to state, may be gathered from one of Polwhele's anecdotes of Methodism, in which he introduces a master accusing his servant of having preached at a barn meeting. The prevaricating Methodist denied the charge; but proof positive being produced, he ingeniously persisted in his negation: "I did not preach, I only exhorted."—"And pray, Sir, what is the difference?"—"Great: preaching is preaching with a text; and exhorting is preaching without one."

When approved of as exhorters, a permission

is granted to preach; and out of these local preachers are selected the itinerants; who, after having been regularly proposed and approved, are appointed, at the conference, to a circuit. Their characters and conduct are strictly examined; and if they still continue irreproachable for four years, they are admitted into full connexion. Men of no talents are withdrawn from the circuits; and immoral preachers are deprived even of the privileges of private members.

This formidable sect is progressively increasing. From the minutes of the conferences the following table is extracted:

1767	25,911	1809	157,921
1770	29,046	1810, not clearly stated	
1775	38,150	1811	168,763
1780	43,830	1812	182,947
1785	52,433	1815	211,066
1790	71,568	1816	220,222
1795	83,368	1817	238,445
1805	125,286	1818	214,701
1808	151,145		

Decrease in Ireland in 1818 7511

These numbers refer only to the English and Irish Methodists. In 1805 the numbers of the whole society stood thus:—

In Great Britain	101,915
Ireland	23,321
Gibraltar	40
America, including 22,000 coloured people and blacks	124,978
	<u>250,254</u>

In 1808.

United States of America ..	151,590
Other parts of ditto	999
Europe	151,145
West Indies	13,806
	<u>317,531</u>

1809.

Europe	157,921
Gibraltar	40
West Indies	12,500
British America	1,121
United States	159,500
	<u>331,032</u>
Increase in one year	<u>14,000</u>

1810.

Britain	145,604
Ireland	23,149
British America	1,390
West Indies	11,892
United States	170,000
	<u>352,035</u>

1812.
Total 367,401

1815.
Total 440,000

1816.
Total 452,222

1817.
Total 464,203

1818.
75th Annual Conference .. 463,046

It is to be observed, that these numbers denote only those persons actually registered in the connexion: if we add the attendants on the service of the chapels—the Whitfield (or Calvinistic) Methodists—and the various sects whose principles and behaviour are akin or analogous to Methodism—the sum total will exhibit a most formidable front, arrayed against the friends of orthodoxy and the Establishment. Of the Arminian, Evangelical, and Baptist Magazines, an average of 30,000 copies each is said to be printed. To the numbers of the Evangelical Magazine, heads of the preachers are prefixed; and so large is the impression every month

struck off, that two copper-plates of the same head are required.

With the Methodists, in short, throughout the world, nearly a million of persons are connected. In 1808 it appeared that in one year 128 chapels had been built, 97 preachers appointed, and 8000 persons added to the community.

After Wesley's death, the perplexing question arose, whether the Lord's Supper should be administered by the Methodist preachers not canonically ordained; and the decision of the leaders was issued from the conference at Leeds in 1793: "Desirous to adhere to the plan laid down by Mr. Wesley, who never departed from his attachment to the Church of England without extreme reluctance and the most urgent necessity, we again and again denied the requests of those who wished to receive the eucharist from the hands of their own preachers. But, fearful of disunion, we now permit the sacrament to be administered by preachers in our connexion, yet only where the whole society is unanimous in demanding it. And, even in such cases of exemption, it shall be celebrated in the evening only, and according to the form of the Church of England."

The Kilhamites, or New Connexion, separated from the Wesleyan Methodists in 1797. These are the democrats of Methodism. They

maintained, that the people should have a voice in the temporal concerns of the societies, vote in the election of church-officers, and give their suffrages in spiritual matters.

But the proposition being negatived in conference, a new plan of itinerancy was formed; and the seceders derived their name from Mr. Kilham, the secretary. The circuits of the new connexion were supplied with preachers, and rules of church-government drawn up. By these, the preachers and people are incorporated in all meetings where business is transacted; and this not merely by temporary concession, but by the essential principles of their constitution: for the private members elect the class-leaders; and though the leaders nominate the stewards, that nomination is invalid without the confirmation of the society. The quarterly meetings are composed of the general stewards and representatives, chosen by the different societies of the circuits; and the fourth quarterly meeting of the year appoints the preacher and delegate of every circuit that shall attend the general conference*.

This separation, though hinging principally on lay interference in church-government, included the resolution not to receive the sacra-

* See General Rules of the New Connexion; and Preface to the Life of Kilham. In 1806 the New Connexion boasted of 18 circuits, 30 preachers, and 5916 members.

ment from the ministers of the established church.

Among the varieties of Methodism, we may distinguish the Jumpers and the Crawlers. The worship of the Welsh Jumpers is remarkable for the rite of leaping very high till the spirits are quite exhausted; the gesture being accompanied with the shout of *Gorgoniat*, the Welsh term for glory. They also cry aloud, *Amen!* or repeat a stanza several times; declaring the purpose of their saltatory exertions to be an attempt to catch the Lamb. Williams, the Welsh poet, defended this practice by the example of David, who danced before the ark, the babe who leaped in the womb of Elizabeth, and the cripple who leaped and praised God on the removal of his lameness. Of the Crawling Methodists, in Cornwall, we learn only from Mr. Polwhele, that they pray in the dark, on their bare knees; and that their orgies are sometimes not to be named. Concerning the Bathos in Methodism and absurdity, the Quaker Methodists of Lancashire, sufficient mention has been made in our preceding volume.

Mr. Graves early exposed the delusion and artifices of the Methodists, in an admirable vein of satire, which runs through his *Spiritual Quixote*.

To the Whitfield Methodists we have already offered a sufficient reply, in our dissertation on the Calvinistic points. Neither need

we repeat, unless summarily, the arguments formerly advanced, in favour of the right succession of a Christian ministry: or those exposing the vitiation of the sacraments and other offices, when performed by the lay preachers of Methodism*. Our present concern is mainly with the principles peculiar to the Wesleyans, or common to all the members in the Methodist community. The points to be examined are, 1. Justification, that is, remission of sins and acceptableness before God, through faith only: 2. The new birth, or instantaneous, perceptible, involuntary, indefectible conversion: 3. The witness of the Spirit; or assurance of reconciliation to God: and, 4. Christian perfection.

How far are these doctrines consonant to Scripture?

1. If, by the doctrine of justification through faith only, the Methodists mean to affirm, that he who relies on faith in Christ, rests on the only true foundation, in opposition to those who put their trust in any measure of good works, as sufficient to procure salvation, the opinion is orthodox; it is the belief of the Church of England; and God forbid that we should con-

* During the civil wars, the Independents corrupted the text, Acts, vi. 3, in order to give the people a right to choose their own pastors. "Look out seven men, whom ye (instead of we) may appoint over this business." For this forgery the printer received £1500.

tradict or impugn it. But if it be asserted, as it is, that there can be a justifying faith, totally independent of works, as evidences of its genuineness; this principle is inconsistent with the Articles of the English church; since the 12th expressly affirms, that although works cannot of themselves put away sins, yet they do spring necessarily out of a true and lively faith; insomuch, that by them, a lively faith may be as evidently known, as a tree discerned by its fruits. What is this to say, but that, if works be not present, there is no true and lively faith? And that Article is clearly conformable to Scripture; since “God created us in Jesus Christ, unto good works,” Eph. ii. 10;—since “Christ died to purify unto himself a people zealous of good works,” Tit. ii. 14;—since we must be doers of the word, and not hearers only; and since every one will be rendered unto according to his deeds, whether they have been good or evil, Rom. ii. 6. Consult, on this head, the whole Epistle of St. James; where faith, if it have not works, is said to be dead, being alone; and Galatians, the 5th chapter and 6th verse, which pronounces, that in Christ Jesus, nothing availeth, but faith which worketh by love.

That we do not overcharge the Methodist interpretation of faith, is apparent from the words of Wesley himself. “The moment,” said he, “that I am confident, that Christ

died for my sins, that moment I am justified." Now, it is certain, that sanctification must accompany justification; for we are told, Heb. xii. 14, that "without holiness no man shall see God:" that repentance precedes a saving faith; Mark, i. 15, "repent ye, and believe the Gospel:" and that fruits meet for repentance, are necessary as tests of its genuineness, Matt. iii. 8. When we are called to make our election sure, and to work out our own salvation, it is evident that election and salvation depend, in some measure, on our own conduct. If justification, then, be stated as being solely the gift of God, independent of any effort of our own, these texts are unmeaning, and the moral agency of man is destroyed.

The Methodists fail to advert to the distinction between first and final justification: our first is the mere act of God's favour; and takes place on our baptism or regeneration: our final justification, our acquittal at the day of doom, depends on our walking worthy of our vocation; on our making our calling and election sure. Coloss. i. 12, 13, 14; Rom. v. 18; ii. 6, 7, 8; Coloss. i. 10; 1 Cor. iii. 4—16. It is evident, from the whole tenour of the Epistles, that they who have received the former justification, are in danger of losing the latter, through their own perverseness. A curse and solemn admonitions are set before the elect and the justified.

Sometimes, however, a slight and passing allowance is made, that faith must be evidenced by fruits; for, as some author has well observed, if the sectarists should dare to pronounce morality superfluous, the civil magistrate would interfere, to check so dangerous a system. By keeping, however, morality in the back ground, and giving a bold relief to faith, by saying a great deal about faith, and very little about works, much mischief is achieved. This false interpretation of faith is very artfully supported by the production of garbled passages, of clauses separated from their context, or even from the sentence to which they belong, which, if honestly produced, would exhibit a very different meaning. How often, to cite only a single instance, do we hear the quotation, "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin." By turning to the whole verse, however, we find it run thus: "If we walk in the light, &c. the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin." And that we may not mistake the meaning of the phrase, walking in the light, the same Evangelist writes, "He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness, even until now."

And even among those who admit the indispensableness of works, the most pernicious errors prevail, in regard to the nature and degree of the moral services demanded. In place

of the true vintage of the Christian virtues, they display a specious luxuriance of wild grapes. Some, content with outward and demonstrative works, with decency and sobriety, with attendance on the worship of the conventicle, and with extraordinary zeal in conversion, continue enslaved to a worldly mind; addicted to over-reaching and equivocating, if not to open falsehood and dishonesty. Censoriousness, impure thoughts, malice, peevishness, and the other less scandalous offences, often remain unchecked in the characters of such devotees. Others, misinterpreting the scriptural term, "love," by which faith is said to work, centre the effects of their faith, in lavish and self-improverishing donations to missionary societies, to funds for converting Jews, and to other religious institutions. "These ye ought to do, and not to leave the other undone."

The Church of England denies that good works are valuable, when considered as merit in man. She avers that they are necessary as evidences of justifying faith. She affirms, that when St. Paul speaks of faith saving without works, he alludes either to ceremonial works, or to moral works preceding faith, and independent of it; and that when St. James mentions faith saving by works, he refers to works which follow faith and are its fruits.

It is much to be feared, that many preachers

among the sectaries, by insisting in a peremptory, unguarded, unscriptural manner, on the exclusive efficacy of faith, by depreciating good works as something which it is presumptuous even to mention, as the sin of self-righteousness to be exceedingly dreaded, as indiscriminately and in all their shades, filthy rags; by railing at moral preaching; and representing the commandments, and the sermon on the Mount, as delivered to humble the pride of man, to deduce the impossibility of his performance, and to dictate his reliance on faith, unqualified faith, as the only service he can yield, lead hearers, whose minds are really depraved, to deem themselves secure in the strength of their faith, without directing much concern to the duties of morality. Even the handwriting on the wall, the compunctious visitings of nature, the silent reproaches of conscience, which break through the adamant of inoperative faith, are represented as artifices of the tempter to draw those with whom they are familiar, away from the Saviour, Christ. But if a man in judgment shall dare to say, Lord, we are justified by thy death; we are washed in thy blood; we are clothed with thy righteousness; all this thou hast done for us; and, therefore, we need not to do any thing for ourselves; take that is thine own—may not that man have just occa-

sion to dread the doom, Cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness *?

In whatever degree iniquity and salvation are reconciled, it little matters whether devotions are offered to the Supreme Being, or whether the transgressor lives in bold and open neglect of him; and truly did Dr. Johnson affirm, that to find a substitution for violated morality, is the leading feature in all perversions of religion.

We cannot fail to observe the gross contradictions, in which the more temperate Methodists, when stating the great doctrine of faith, involve themselves. It is a thing abstracted from works; and yet no faith is true without them. It is the gift of God, towards obtaining which we can do nothing; and, nevertheless, we are commanded to pray for it. We are condemned for the want of it; yet we cannot stir a step till it is wrought by Omnipotence. "Lord, who shall dwell in thy holy hill?" saith David: "even he that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness." But God,

* Yet such are the opinions advanced by Dr. Hawker; "they are not arraigned for their sins, but receive the reward of their Redeemer's merits." The same divine terms the book, entitled, *A Week's Preparation for the Sacrament*, a swarm of weakness and folly. But the servant, who *prepared* not himself, is beaten with many stripes. Thus do all the essential doctrines of Christianity disappear, when touched by the talisman of Methodism.

say the Methodists, finds out the ungodly and unholy to glorify his power; and it often happens, that the greater the sinner, the greater the saint. Thus repentance is delayed, under the impression, that faith in Christ will, when it arrives, be repentance sufficient; and sins are repeated, in the conviction that his blood is as efficacious to obliterate an additional stain, as to efface guilt already committed. And every one knows how common is the address in Methodist discourses; Come, come to Christ; and the larger the roll of your offences, the more welcome will you be in his courts.

That our Saviour laid a stress on good works, such as a Methodist of the present day would not deem justifiable, is evident from Luke, x. 25, 26, 27, 28: "Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?"—"What is written in the law?"—"Thou shalt love thy God, and thy neighbour as thyself."—"This do, and thou shalt live." Christ would not have delivered his beautiful sermon on the Mount, if believing on his merits did not fully imply the practice of all the moral virtues therein enumerated. Christ would not have delivered his description of the day of judgment, if visiting the sick, and feeding the hungry, were not indispensable works to salvation through faith in his merits.

2. Another Methodist tenet to be examined, and refuted, relates, in various ways, to conver-

sion. Now, even to the term "conversion," some exception may be taken. It has been erroneously held to be synonymous with regeneration, or the new birth; for, nothing can be more clear, than that we are regenerated when we are baptized*. To apply to regeneration a different meaning from baptism, is to stumble at the threshold of the sanctuary†. "Except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven," must not be applied, in strictness, to conversion; nor is it asserted in Scripture, or true in fact, that a strong and marked change, capable of being dated as to its origin, from extreme wickedness, to entire virtue, takes place in every individual, or is necessary to every individual's salvation. That it takes place in some, in many individuals, is allowed; and Methodism can boast signal proofs of so happy a transition. That all men require repentance, is not less certain: but they require it in regard to habits and heavier offences, not once only, but at frequent intervals; and as to lapses and infirmities, every day of their lives.

That mode of preaching, therefore, which considers a congregation as divided into the two great classes, of hardened sinners, and saints who have passed from death to life, is injudicious,

* See Mant on Regeneration; Quarterly Review,—Bishop Bull's Sermons.

† Scott, however, asserts, that baptism is not regeneration: but of this more hereafter.

injurious to morality, not warranted by Scripture, and not built on a basis of fact *. All men, the very best, are sinners, and require to be daily put in remembrance, concerning the necessity of amendment. But many men there are, who, though oftentimes erring, are not given over wholly to a reprobate mind; who have been well educated, who have understood the Scriptures, and lived religiously from their youth—and who are to be admonished to beware of falling away from Christ, rather than to be invited to turn unto him. Every congregation contains numbers of regular worshippers, whose consciences are in general void of offence; who live, having the fear of God before their eyes; whose principles are sound, and whose practice is for the most part, upright; yet who are occasionally overcome, or in danger of being overcome, by the corruption of their nature or the seductions of the world; and who are ever peculiarly exposed to the assaults of the sin which most easily besets them. Of others the only error consists in some slender flaw, some slight offence, some obliquity of disposition: and their repentance (for it cannot be called renewal or conversion) will resemble the few fine touches given by the fastidious artist to a painting already beautiful, or the steady settling of the

* See Paley's Seventh Sermon, Reflections on Methodism, p. 20.

magnetic needle, after some of its more trembling vibrations. To warn these various characters of their danger; to preach to them continual watchfulness; and to propose such arguments and remedies as are suited to the peculiar circumstances of their souls, is the most essential part of a minister's duty;—a part overlooked in the preaching prevalent among Methodist divines, who only concerned to huddle all the alarmed profligate alike into the one fold of the Gospel, pay little attention to the arrangement of their behaviour within its pale.

But conversion is further stated by the Methodists to be INSTANTANEOUS *. They have no notion of a gradual process of repentance; of a man's partial conversion; of his vacillation and alternation between duty and disobedience; of his being awakened, and falling away. Repentance is something from without, which falls upon their converts in a miraculous moment with all the rapidity and force of a flash of lightning. It is wrought by an extraneous power, without any contribution of their own; and only at a time determined by the will of God. Their experience can ascertain, by some sensible glow, the moment when this change took place. They are then assured of salvation; and, though

* Wesley's Third Journal, p. 16; Bishop Lavington; vol. i. p. 33, 34

guilty of frequent lapses, can never be totally lost.

Now, although in the case of an hardened profligate, who repents, there must have been some one moment, never to be forgotten, when his first serious thought, his first strong compunction arose; in many, and in most instances, this arises, and is stifled; and returns, and is stifled again*. At best, it is only a commencing point; and though one step towards safety, it places not the penitent out of danger. But Scripture signifies by turning unto God, a progressive and habitual state of improvement. The wicked man is not only to repent, but to do that which is lawful and right. It is only when this consequence of his repentance grows up into a habit, that through Christ he saves his soul alive. We are commanded to grow in grace; to be daily renewed in the spirit of our minds; to die daily; to shine more and more; to add to faith virtue; to be built up as well as founded in the faith; to press forward to perfection; to rise to the measure of the stature of Christ. Now, to what purpose all these injunctions, if conversion have taken place in one mysterious moment, and if there be a crisis in sin, succeeded by invulnerable sanctity, or inalienable allegiance?

This notion of instantaneous conversion leads

* See Evangelical Magazine, 1811.

on to the perilous reliance on a precarious death-bed repentance, so common among the Methodist sectaries, and so much fostered by their publications. "If you can only utter 'Jesus' at the moment of passing away, I tell you, you are safe*." How many, like the thief on the cross, or the jailor at Philippi, have been surprised into grace, at such seasons, by Him who calleth things that are not as though they were†! Without denying that in some peculiar instance the grace of God may be extended to a penitent on a death-bed, it is easy to ascertain to what manner of life the diffusion of these principles must lead. A presumptuous dissolution, a dance of death, the song of a religious swan, is in itself an object of melancholy contemplation.

Besides, being instantaneous, the conversion of Methodism is *perceptible*. But if this notion were just, what would mean the text, "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit?" or the other passage, "Whosoever is born of God, overcometh the world. By THIS ye know that my love is in you: (not by any sensible impulse—no :) but by this, that ye keep my commandments. Whosoever is born of God—(the test is neither a glow nor a rapture, but that

* Polwhele's Anecdotes of Methodism,

† Hawker's Poor Man's Portion.

he) doth not commit sin" (1 John, iii. 9), that is, allows not himself in any habitual sinful practice?

Mental agitations, occasioned by the alarms excited by fanatical teachers, instead of being a demonstration of the illapse of the Spirit, are usually to be ascribed to causes simply physical. They are stronger in youth than in age, in health than in sickness; in nervous excitement than in the languor of exhaustion: and hence arises the temptation to have recourse to artificial stimulants; to strong tea and to ardent spirits, the effects of which resemble the energies of inspiration. As tests of conversion, or repentance, therefore, they are not by any means to be relied upon. The tests* proposed in the Sacred Writings, are far less equivocal. "Search the spirits, whether they be of God: for by their fruits ye shall know them: now the fruits of the Spirit are these—love, joy, peace, meekness, gentleness, patience." It is plain, then, from Scripture and reason, that men, in talking of conversion, should assign it to the particular time (and that never can be an instantaneous point), when their faith in Christ, and their love to God, had ripened into comprehensive, uniform, and sustained obedience; that in men-

* "There is not one syllable in Sacred Writ," says Waterland, "to countenance the notion of such impulses. It is all mere fiction, invention, presumption, dangerous in its tendency and issue."

tioning their convictions and experiences, they should relate how they have acted, not what agitations or incandescencies, what visions, voices, whisperings, or trances, have been theirs; that they should recount their substantial fruits meet for repentance, rather than their fanciful sensations.

It is asked, however, may not moral effects co-exist with sensible impressions, as the tests and evidences of renewal? No doubt they might: but it will be difficult to find Scriptural authority, to justify an expectation of sensible impressions. What we are here contending against, however, is a reliance on these impressions, as the sole and exclusive proof of spiritual illumination. The first converts received tongues of fire, and St. Paul was converted by a light from heaven: but these visitations were ascertained to be the impulses of the Spirit, by the gifts of speaking different languages, and of working miracles, by which they were accompanied. Such gifts being at present unknown, visions and internal feelings may be wholly imaginary, or may be occasioned by some natural impulse on the frame: and hence may a bold and hazardous mistake be committed, in ascribing them to the influence of the third Person in the Godhead.

Sherlock recommends two tests, inward and outward signs of grace: the former, a pure

conscience, and sincere love for God and man : the second, acts of obedience conformable to this inward love.

There occurs not one word in the Articles of our Church, which favours in the remotest degree, either instantaneous or perceptible conversion.

But this conversion, according to the creed of Methodism, is wrought solely and forcibly by an *extraneous power*, and without any contribution whatever towards it made by the recipient himself. Grace is said to be irrespective and involuntary. Now, that by grace we are saved through faith, and that not of ourselves, but the gift of God, is a doctrine not to be gainsayed. But Scripture commands us to solicit this spiritual gift; to ask—to seek—to knock. These are all contributions made by the recipient, and made in the first instance, as in every subsequent supply. God is ever willing and ever waiting to be gracious; and it is certain dispositions on our part which he looks for, in order to persuade him to carry this will into effect. It is the study to improve the ordinary influences of his Spirit, that renders us meet to receive accessions of its strength. To him that hath shall be given, in the ratio of the improvement of his talent. Thus the work of conversion proceeds by co-operation, by action and re-action; the Spirit of conversion is invited, and descends not by

force: the process is gradual, from strength to strength; and the recipient makes contributions to its early commencement, not less than to its ultimate completion.

This opinion, that conversion is forcibly wrought by God alone, gives rise to the kindred doctrine, that it comes only *in God's good time* *. Under this persuasion, the Methodists have invented their notion of a call, which every man must needs wait for: and, if this hypothesis be admitted as a doctrine of religion, it is difficult to see what should restrain men, in the time preceding this visitation, from perpetrating every species of crime. But where, in sense or Scripture, is the foundation for this jargon? A call? Every ordinary means of grace, every weekly cessation of labour, every chime of the Sabbath bells, discourses, afflictions, funerals that pass along; every ache and every ailment; every approving or condemning whisper of conscience, is a call, and a call for the neglect of which we must answer. God dealeth not his Spirit either by measure or by time. Of his calls, as there is no stinting, so there is no delay. Every day—this day, the Spirit of God speaks. This is the accepted time, this is the day of salvation. Wherefore, “To-day, if ye

* “All our resolutions to mend our ways come to nothing, till God changes the heart.” *Village Dialogues*, vol. i. p. 21.

will hear his voice, harden not your hearts." To evade this obvious truth, the Methodists have had recourse to the absurd hypothesis of a general and a particular call: the general one addressed in discourses and providences to all men; and the particular, which is effectual in the case of the chosen individual. To this theory the strong objection is, its conversion of man into a machine. Every man, by his moral agency, may make this general call, a special and effectual one, in his own case. God's voice is heard, generally, and particularly, every day: and we repeat the sentence, "To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts."

That the grace of conversion, thus instantaneous and perceptible, thus extraneous and descending, not as a continual tender, but at some period assigned by Heaven, is not, when it falls, *to be resisted*, is the next erroneous notion observable in the scheme of Methodism; though, perhaps, the Arminian sectarists may disclaim it. It is certainly, however, implied in their ordinary conversation, when they ascribe the whole work of their renewal to the omnipotence of God; to an omnipotence "which sweetly disavows resistance," and leads us cheerful captives in the silver chains of love*. But if we could not resist grace, we could no longer be free

* Apology for Sunday Schools, p. 26.

agents; life would cease to be a state of probation; and we should no further be capable of reward or of punishment. It is inconsistent to speak of moral agency, of moral responsibility, of reward or of punishment in a future world, if an overwhelming power, which we could neither invite nor avoid, and not in some small measure or contribution, our own choice, and acceptance of grace tendered, have led us to obedience, or by its absence left us in rebellion. No doubt the Apostle teaches, that it is God who worketh in us, both to will and to do of his good pleasure: but then his inference, the comment contained in his following words, must likewise be taken into the account: for he guards the passage from misconstruction by immediately subjoining, "Wherefore, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling." We are likewise exhorted, not to grieve the Spirit of God; not to quench the Spirit: words plainly intimating, that it may be grieved and quenched; and that in whatever measure grace is communicated to man, his depravity is fully competent to defeat its good intentions, to turn from its calls, and to stifle its movements.

The whole code of divine laws, from Genesis to Revelation, directly contradicts the dogma of irresistible grace, and supposes a principle of free will and volition in man. "If ye will obey my voice, ye shall be my treasure."

Exod. xix. 5. "Why will ye die, O house of Israel?"—"Because I called, and ye refused."

Prov. i. 24. Some receive the grace of God in vain. "Ye do always resist the Holy Ghost."

Acts, vii. 21. Yet Sir R. Hill says, and says in the very teeth of Scripture, grace is no grace, unless it conquers every thing which opposes its progress *.

Let not these observations be considered, however, as derogatory, in any degree, to the power of God. He is omnipotent, and might confessedly have conferred his grace in such measure, as to render human disobedience, or rejection of it, in any particular case, altogether impossible. But he is likewise just and wise, and has left his creatures the option of obedience, or of resistance to his Spirit, because such power, such option, in wisdom and in justice, was necessary to them, as *accountable* beings.

The Spirit of God comes not as the driving whirlwind; it rushes not as the overwhelming torrent: it is the soft gale of summer against which the vessel may strive, yet which is indispensable to the progress of the vessel; and by whose gentle wafture, if she spread forth her sails, she will be carried onward to her destined haven. The spirit of conversion resembles not at all those more fortunate seasons of the green isles in the South, which, while man slumbers,

* Preface to Babington's Sermons, p. 8.

lapped in voluptuous indolence, can ripen for him the fruits of the earth: it is the genial warmth, and the showers dropping fatness, peculiar to these higher and hardier latitudes, which, though indispensable to the productions of the harvest, would be wasted but for the tillage of the husbandman.

A similar error of Methodism well deserving to be combated, consists in deeming the grace of conversion to be indefectible; that is, in believing, that, when once received, it never finally deserts the favoured recipient. But some persons are said in Scripture to be given over to a reprobate mind; in other words, spiritual influences, once communicated and possessed, have been totally and finally withdrawn from them. "Cast me not away from thy presence," said David, "and take not thy Holy Spirit from me:" surely, then, at the time of petitioning, he possessed the Spirit of God; and considered it as a gift capable of being completely lost. And when we learn, that he who endureth unto the end, the same, the same only, shall be saved; and that if any man draw back, he may draw back unto perdition—we perceive the possibility of a lapse from a state of grace, and of a lapse complete and final.

ASSURANCE *of reconciliation with God*, or what is called THE WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT, is the last doctrine relative to conversion, which is common to all orders of Methodists. Now, if we are

commanded to work out our own salvation with fear and trembling, these, we will allow, are very opposite emotions to the confidence of full assurance. St. Paul himself, long after his conversion, expresses a fear lest he should be cast away. And if we are charged to make our calling and election sure, then (to say nothing of the contribution which must evidently be made by ourselves to that effect) the words can only signify, that we may be in a state of calling and election; that is, in a state of grace and conversion, and yet not in a state of assurance, as to our salvation*. For salvation much depends on what we cannot be assured of, the success of our resistance to future temptation. If our calling be already sure, why should we strive to make it so?

No doubt, a good man may be filled with hope, even a strong and well-grounded hope, which may comfort and refresh his soul. A consciousness that he is living in no habitual transgression, that the main motive of his conduct is love towards God, that he renders to him services sincere, though imperfect; and that, after all, he owns himself an unprofitable servant, and relies entirely on the Redeemer for salvation—may yield to a devout

* Whitfield's 5th Journal, p. 17. Wesley's 2d Journal, p. 30.

believer much internal "peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

We are commanded, however, to "rejoice with trembling:" and why should this fearfulness be mingled in the cup of our holy exultation, if it be not from the possibility of a state of defection? If this then be possible, there can be no infallible assurance*. If this be possible, then Mr. Wesley speaks presumptuously, when he asserts, that the "Spirit does give a believer a testimony of his adoption, by which he can no more doubt the reality of his sonship, than the shining of the sun." Again he writes, that a condemned criminal could rise from his knees, and eagerly exclaim, "I am now ready to die. I know Christ has taken away my sins, and there is no more condemnation for me." (Whitehead's Life, vol. i. p. 69.) But is this "rejoicing with trembling?" Were we assured of our salvation, we might speak of it with the most unreserved confidence. But this could never be reconciled with the admonition, "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."

Thus, the Methodist believes, that he can do nothing until God changes his heart, and need do nothing afterwards. He assures himself of salvation; and all notions of contrition, repent-

* Vide Rom. v. 6, 8, 14, 16.

ance, restitution, are totally obliterated within his breast. With this feeling he stifles conscience—

And with this sweet oblivious antidote
Cleanses the bosom of that perilous stuff
That hangs about the heart.

A Methodist preacher in the Isle of Ely, a year or two ago, had been left guardian to a young woman, whose property he was to inherit in case of her decease. He murdered her, and was sentenced to execution. He denied, however, his guilt to the last; although confessing the fact, the night before he suffered. This was a pupil of assurance: and the history may serve to remind us, that persons, with much corruption remaining in their breasts, may be led by this pernicious error, to mistake the fervour of their animal spirits, the flatteries of their vanity, and the dictates of their presumption, for a witness of the Spirit to the certainty of their eternal welfare, and may substitute confidence for conversion. They invert the right ratiocination, and argue from the conclusion to the premises; they first presume, and take it for granted, that they are born of God; and then infer, that being so, they are, and must be, without sin.

And others, the most pious, the most virtuous, may be led in a similar manner, by false views of agencies supposed spiritual, to distrust,

as unreasonably, their enjoyment of the divine approbation. Cowper had as little cause for his despondence and occasional despair, as the criminal above mentioned had for his blasphemous boldness.

Christianity is a religion of action upon the foundations of principle and calm reflection. This doctrine of assurance, like the kindred tenet of perceptible conversion, reduces it to a religion wholly of feelings, uncertain, variable, and unsatisfactory. A healthy or a weak state of the body—hunger or stimulating diet—animated or languid preaching—solitude, or the communicated impulse of congregational enthusiasm—elevations or depressions, produced by the weather, by surrounding scenery, by a variety of other circumstances—may exalt or abate a man's opinion of his state before God, while it actually continues unaltered by any of these agencies. They are therefore inadequate and improper standards for measuring a sense of our spiritual condition*.

* Dr. Watts was assured, that his nose was made of glass: a lady in Pope's time was assured that she was a goose pie: but did these assurances constitute facts? To substantiate any supposition, tests and proofs are requisite.

"Our Saviour," says Sherlock, "tells us, that we may know men by their fruits; much rather may we know ourselves by our own fruits; especially when we may know the stock too from whence they grow, the notions and workings of our own heart.

"Hence,

No traces of this doctrine are to be found in any of our Articles.

The Methodists hold the doctrine of *Christian perfection*. They maintain, that by virtue of the blood of Jesus Christ, and the operations of the Holy Spirit, it is their privilege to arrive at that maturity in grace, and participation of the divine nature, which excludes sin from the human heart, and fills it with perfect love to God and man. This they denominate Christian perfection, throwing out all inward sin. The texts on which they found this doctrine, are the following: Deuter. vi. 5, and xxx. 6; Ezek. xxxvi. 25—29; Psalm cxxx. 8; 2 Cor. vi. 1; John, iii. 8; Ephes. v. 25—27; Rom. viii. 3, 4; Ephes. iii. 14, 15, 16: all of which passages, any unprejudiced mind will perceive, on inspecting them, are quite irrelevant to the subject.

As to 1 Thess. v. 23; Matt. v. 48; Tit. ii. 14; Acts, xv. 9; it may be sufficient to observe briefly, that the prayer and the wish con-

“Hence, it appears, that the evidence of the Spirit is not any secret inspiration, or any assurance conveyed to the mind of the faithful: but it is the evidence of works, such as by the Spirit we may perform; and, therefore, the only sign of sanctification is holiness; and the only mark of grace is to obey from the heart the word of God: and therefore they err, not knowing the Scriptures, who from this or like passages, imagine, that the Spirit ever gives, or was ever designed to give, inward assurance or certainty to men, of their future state.” *Disc. 7.*

tained in 1 Thess. implies not, particularly in the eastern phraseology, the possibility of a complete accomplishment of that wish; for what man was ever preserved entirely BLAMELESS? To Matthew, v. 48, the same question may be applied; for what man was ever perfect as God is perfect? Agreeably to the passage in Titus, ii. 14, we may be redeemed from all iniquity, and zealous of good works, and yet be guilty of numberless imperfections; while Acts, xv. 9, refers to the equal measure of grace accorded to the Jews and the Gentiles. Wesley, indeed, guarded and qualified this doctrine, by stating, that it implied not exemption from ignorance or infirmity, but only from voluntary transgressions; and that involuntary transgressions are not real sins, when the mind is filled with the Holy Ghost. But how evidently is such a doctrine at variance with morality! What sinner might not pronounce all his sins involuntary, and imagine his soul filled with the Holy Ghost? Even the Methodist of Ely might cover his murderous deed with such false and abominable conceptions!

Among the minor points of difference from the Established Church, in which the various descriptions of Methodists are agreed, we may class their assigning it as a reason for their

schism, that the Gospel is not preached within our places of instruction.

To this cavil several replies may readily be furnished. 1. Most sectarists never repair to church at all, to satisfy their own minds as to the truth of the assertion; but believe it mainly on the report of persons prejudiced by opposition, or interested in railing against the established clergy.

2. How beneficial soever preaching may be esteemed, it is only a secondary consideration in our public service. Devotion is the first and essential point. And our adversaries themselves acknowledge that the Church Liturgy abounds in the soundest doctrines of the Gospel; nay, they refer to it, in declaring, perhaps deceitfully, that they would never forsake the churches, if the ministry would preach conformably to it. Whenever an Evangelical clergyman, however, gratifies this wish, their first step is to plant a chapel by the side of his own.

3. If the Gospel is stated not to be preached, because the moral virtues are occasionally insisted on, we may remember, that an account of two sermons is recorded in the Bible; which, one would imagine, ought to be regarded by all Christians as correct models of preaching. One of these was delivered by our Saviour on the Mount: the other by Paul, when arraigned before Felix. Refer to the former. Are there any

abstruse doctrines, any knotty points in theology, discussed in that admirable exhortation? By no means. It is replete with practical instructions, relative to prayer, to almsgiving, to chastity, to simplicity, to forgiveness. And how was it that Paul made Felix tremble? Not by a treatise on faith without works,—not by a dissertation on unconditional election,—not by an appeal to fervours and experiences; but by reasoning on vice and virtue, and their eternal consequences; on temperance, righteousness, and judgment to come.

We have, therefore, a right to turn this accusation against the Methodists, and to affirm, that the Gospel, the whole and genuine Gospel, is not preached in their conventicles. Discourses, in which the doctrines of religion are so prominent in relief, that its duties are cast into the back ground, or rather hardly introduced at all, are fraught, when addressed to the ignorant, with incalculable danger. How can morality be expected from those persons who hear of nothing, save the all-sufficiency of faith, and the sinfulness of resting on works*? The tree must be shown in all the pride of its strength, and in the full beauty of its fructification. Methodism exhibits the root, but plucks off the foliage, and nips the fruitage in the bud. When faith is

* See Rowland Hill's *Village Dialogues*, vol. i. p. 30, 31.

mentioned, are pains taken to explain it, at all times, as a principle which is only acceptable when working by obedience? or is not this explanation sedulously avoided as savouring of Pharisaical boasting, and self-righteousness? Sometimes we observe an affectation of contending with Antinomianism, by affirming that the moral law is not abrogated by the Gospel; but that here is the stupendous mystery—Christ has fulfilled it in his own person. Very well, then: and if he has fulfilled it, where is the necessity for our paying any attention to it? Sometimes we are told, with affected sanctity, that the moral law is certainly a rule of life. But what compels me to observe this rule of life? The sanction of rewards and punishments. And if these are distributed by divine favour and free grace, without any demand on the recipient, save faith only, and even that wrought on his mind by a power independent of his volition, what becomes of his obligation to observe this rule of life?

4. Every minister of the Established Church does actually preach the Gospel. And though it is to be regretted, that a few, perhaps, build not morality on the basis of the doctrines, so carefully as to bestow on it due strength and permanence; they may be expected, as a body, because they are bound by their oath, to frame their instructions agreeably to the Thirty-nine

Articles, and to the scope and fair sense of Scripture. They may not, like Methodists, continually harp upon the doctrines, and upon the doctrines exclusively; they may not sour the tempers, and inflame the animosities of their hearers, with perpetual words of controversy; but they fail not to afford the mysteries and peculiar truths of Christianity their due weight in the scheme of instruction; and to unfold the whole counsel of God. Bishop Watson, as appears from his very discreditable memoirs, was constantly, during his lifetime, exclaiming, "No subscription!" But highly fortunate is it that a standard of principles is set up, by which ministers shall regulate their instructions. If there were no such formulary, every different teacher "might have a doctrine," and every congregation would be tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the slight of man, and cunning craftiness whereby they lie in wait to deceive. In the morning, a Calvinist might roar unconditional reprobation; in the evening his Arminian successor might descant on universal redemption: the Socinian would obliterate the teaching of the Trinitarian; and the Antinomian and the moral preacher, the Independent and the Episcopalian, the Papist and the Protestant, would all ring their several changes in precious and beautiful confusion. But the prescribed formularies of our

church are still further valuable, by constantly bringing the doctrines under the eye of the congregation, and preaching them, as it were, in the surplice, and from the reading-desk: so that even a minister who had secretly renounced them, could not conceal them from his flock, by confining his public teaching to moral discourses. They would lift their voices from beneath his pulpit; they would speak in the form of devotion; they would remain in every pew and prayer-book; and if they did not shame him into harmonizing his sermons with their sentiments, they would at least defy him to banish them entirely from his church. Thus, even under preaching the most purely moral, a man endowed with honest dispositions, might find in private devotion, and in the Liturgy and ordinances of the Church, sufficient matter to assist him in the working out of his salvation, at the feet of any minister of the Establishment, without finding occasion to ramble from its pale. To this we may subjoin in passing, that the same observation may be applied to those rare instances of personal immorality amongst the established clergy, which are urged, with similar sincerity, as a ground of dissent. "Of the Immorality of Ministers, which hinders not the Effects of the Sacrament," is the title of one of our Articles. If it vitiate not the sacraments, then, much less can it impede any efficacy be-

longing to the mere preaching of man. We possess this treasure in earthen vessels; but it is still the same inestimable treasure.

Tillotson, observed Whitfield, in his coarse way of abuse, knew no more of Christianity than Mahomet did. Now, it is a pretty bold method of speaking concerning an order of men, to whom the laws of God (which have appointed an uninterrupted succession of priesthood, even from the days of the Apostles), and the constitution of the country, which prescribes their intellectual and moral qualifications, have committed the ministration of religion, to assert that they preach not the Gospel, nor even understand the religion they are appointed to administer. If the clergy preach not that which they are sent forth, and have undertaken to preach, they are hypocrites, promising one thing, and doing the reverse; and deliberately betraying a cause while they pocket incomes given for its support. Against a body of men so generally respectable, to prefer such a charge is, to say the least, somewhat arrogant.

5. In the minds of some exceedingly ignorant persons, the preaching of the Gospel is identified with extemporary preaching. Now, we may ask, is it conceived, that there is *inspiration* in this method of instruction? But where are the proofs of inspiration? prophecy, miracles, the gift of tongues, or any extraor-

dinary powers conferred on the Apostles? To say that an extemporary preacher feels himself inspired, is no proof that he is really so. The Apostles would have boasted but little success, if assertions only had supported their pretensions to inspiration. Immediate inspiration, beyond the ordinary effusion of the Spirit, ceased when it was no longer necessary; when the first resistance of power, pride, interest, and prejudice, was overcome, and Christianity had obtained a footing. Or will it be pretended that an unlettered man's capacity to preach, affords a proof of inspiration? "In the ministry of the Gospel," says the Evangelical Magazine for 1800, "learning is not always necessary; and in comparison of divine influence and power, it is nothing, yea less than nothing, and vanity." But in order to give this supposition any colour of plausibility, it must be shown, that the first and rudest essays of illiterate preachers are as excellent compositions in style and in argument, as the discourses and writings of the Apostles. Fluency is not eloquence; nor confidence, inspiration. And it cannot be denied, that unlearned itinerants have made first essays, of the most barbarous and ridiculous nature, while their progressive improvement has risen in the ordinary process of natural genius, nourished and strengthened by the labour of an active and an assiduous mind. Whitfield him-

self confesses, that he had frequently written and spoken too much in his own spirit, when he conceived himself writing and speaking by the assistance of the Spirit of God*.

If, therefore, the Methodists are not peculiarly inspired, let us consider the high advantage, in public instruction, possessed by the

* A certain clergyman, having received the new light, imagined some time ago, that he could start, all on a sudden, into the line of extemporaneous preaching. His first text was somewhat unfortunate, though intended to make proof as to the strength of his belief: "He openeth and no man shutteth, he shutteth and no man openeth." He had intended to descant at length on the power of the Spirit, in putting words into the lips of those who, like the Apostles, thought not beforehand what they should say. But his expectations proved fallacious—he floundered and ran aground—it was immediately all over—and the disconcerted orator shut his book, which no man, that morning, was ready to open after him. The following illustrative anecdote is whimsically related, in Hunt's Essays on Methodism. A gentleman sent out his servant to silence the din of a blind fiddler, who made a hideous scraping at his door. "Has your master no taste?" demanded the indignant son of Apollo. "I can't say as to that, friend; but he is disturbed with your music."—"Does he not see how surprising a thing it is to play as I do; without having received instructions?"—"I cannot tell: he sends you a shilling, and desires you to go quietly away."—"Then, tell your master, he may go to the devil."

Here, it is said, three things are observable. 1st, The fiddler thought, a man must have no taste, who differs in opinion from his own. 2dly, He thought it finer to play ill without a master, than well after having had one. And lastly, he settles the controversy, by pronouncing an anathema against his antagonist.

established clergy. In preaching written sermons, they have had time to digest their ideas, before they shall appear in the pulpit. They have sifted the chaff from the wheat. They have dismissed irrelevancies, obviated repetitions, retained a connected argument, and arranged a regular discourse. They can thus adhere closely to their text, and pursue their reasoning with accuracy and method. They can select and polish such language as shall exhibit their subject in a luminous, forcible, and elegant point of view. The extemporary preacher, on the other hand, cannot pause for the task of choosing and of rejecting, amongst different thoughts and expressions which rush upon his mind. His business is to speak on, without interruption; *parler bon, parler mal, parler toujours*; so that he is compelled to adopt every sentiment and every phrase, unpruned and rude, and out of order, as it arises. Hence the total want of method, the wild incoherency, the endless repetitions, which appear in such discourses. Hence, too, the low vulgarisms, the awkward attempts at illustration, the diffuse tautology, the tedious circumlocutions, the homely allusions labouring in vain after perspicuity, which not only fail not to disgust every hearer of taste, sense, and judgment, but degrade the solemnity of the subject, excite smiles of contempt, and admit sinful man to an impious familiarity with

his Maker. Hence, in a word, all that rant, and noise, and nonsense, which pass among the gaping multitude for supernatural gifts.

Besides, in the name of common sense, are not those men better qualified for public instructors, who are versed in all the erudition necessary to fit them for the duties of their sacred profession; whose time and studies have been devoted for a number of years, to preparation for the work of the ministry; who are acquainted with the Scriptures in their original languages; who possess all the learning that can elucidate and explain them; than mechanics who have started but yesterday from the loom or from the anvil, hardly knowing their own language, despising the aids of human learning, and having neither had time nor opportunities for acquiring it? Christ in himself was the wisdom of God; and the twelve, being unlettered, received miraculous tongues and gifts to supply their deficiencies; but Moses was learned in all the knowledge of the Egyptians, and Paul was educated at the feet of Gamaliel.

Of the necessity of endowments acquired by study, the Methodists have of late years become sensible to a certain extent. Institutions have been raised for education; and certain qualifications are demanded of their regular ministers; but these consist more of facility in praying and preaching, than of languages, critical science,

or the general course of a liberal education : and there still remains the whole tribe of approved exhorters, and sooty-faced supplicators, to vent their ignorance and absurdity at the prayer and class meetings.

The clergy of the Establishment are not sent forth for the instruction of their unenlightened brethren, until it has been ascertained by superiors commissioned and competent to examine their ability, that they are qualified for so important a task. Equal caution is exercised in regard to their moral character; testimonials of their good behaviour for several years prior to their ordination, being required from the ministers or public teachers under whose inspection they have lived. Besides, they are called upon at their ordination to subscribe their solemn assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of our Church; which affords their hearers a security as to the orthodoxy of their principles. They are ordained by the bishops (as the Apostles ordained the priests and deacons of their time), to preach the Gospel in the churches to which they are appointed. They are expressly licensed to the cures, where they are to exercise their respective functions; not dismissed as vagabonds to ramble up and down the world, without home, character, flock, or specific destination. They appear, not earlier than the age of twenty-four, once more before the bishop; when reason may be supposed

to have attained higher maturity, study a wider range, and principle a surer anchoring ; that they may undergo a new examination, and be invested with ampler authority. And finally, they are answerable to the diocesan for their character, and for the due performance of their holy duties.

How different is all this from the institutions of enthusiasm ! which frequently sanction self-elected teachers, who, untaught themselves, are incapable of guiding others ; or which, if they exact any pretensions in candidates for the ministry, look more to fervours and pretences to illumination, or, at best, to volubility in prayer, and prompt, though unapt reference to Scriptural language, than to intellectual endowments and moral qualifications.

The Methodists have thought fit to employ lay-preachers in their societies. Now, without retracing the ground formerly traversed in this work, it shall suffice to observe, that, by the appointment of Christ himself, a regular succession of men has been ordained to minister in his church. That an outward commission, mediately or immediately derived from God, is requisite to authorize a man's execution of any sacerdotal act of religion, is manifest from the word of Scripture, and the example of our Saviour and his Apostles. Heb. v. 4. " This honour no man taketh unto himself, but he that

is called of God, as was Aaron." But what was the calling of Aaron? Not an inward summons, a secret whisper, which could not well be distinguished from the wild imagination, the self-deception of enthusiasm. It was a solemn consecration from the hands of Moses. His sons were ordered to be consecrated in the same manner, the promise being annexed, that their anointing should surely be an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations. Our Lord himself, not content to rely, exclusively, on personal holiness, or inclination, or the gifts of the Spirit, as a call to the ministry, "glorified not himself to be made an high priest; but He that said unto him, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee." In like manner, when Christ delivered the apostolical charge, on commissioning the eleven disciples, he employed the words, "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." The self-same principle was observed by the Apostles, in the administration of the primitive church: though many had received the Holy Ghost, as well as these friends of our Lord, none were permitted to enter upon any ministry, but such as were ordained by Apostolical authority. The divine commission necessary to qualify every minister of holy things, was thus handed down from our Lord and the Apostles, through an uninterrupted succession of men. A reformation

from Popery did not create a new church, but purified and reintegrated the church that had been from the beginning*. Now this succession has been all along an episcopal succession, which may be traced up to the days of the Apostles: nor from the days of the Apostles to those of Calvin, was any ordination in any age or country considered as valid, save that of the bishops. The reformed bishops received ordination from the Romish church, and thereby at once acknowledged, respected, continued the past, and perpetuated the future succession. And still to this day, a Romish priest converted, performs the functions of the priesthood in the English Church, without any fresh ordination. The American bishops came over to this country for consecration. The Bishop of Calcutta, before setting out, received consecration in England. It may, therefore, be expedient for the Methodists to consider, whether their bold departure from the scheme of Christ, from the order of succession, and from the original principles of the founders of Methodism themselves, be not an error, an awful offence, to authorize which, they have less warranty from

* "Where," said a Papist to Wilkes, "was your church before the Reformation?"—"Did you wash your face this morning?"—"Yes; but what of that?"—"Where was your face before it was washed?"

Scripture, than to support any of their other peculiarities.

In mentioning faith, as, on the part of man, the bond of the covenant of grace, the Methodists allow, especially when pressed in argument, that this faith, to be genuine, must needs work by love. But besides maintaining, that faith is entirely the gift of God; that love, or the fruitage of moral service, is likewise entirely the gift of God, that man has nothing to do save as a passive instrument, in the acquisition of either, and that holiness is no condition, though they allow it to be a *sine qua non* towards salvation; besides this tissue of absurdities, they possess various other means of neutralizing the wholesome doctrine now under examination. Assigning to the word "love," a meaning little spiritual, and fancying some analogy betwixt human passion, and the affection which flows towards the Divinity, some learn to substitute for the genuine fruits of faith, for the rigour of principle, and the strict discharge of duty, many soft and dangerous sensibilities, many undefined tendernesses of benevolent sentiment, too much akin to that mental voluptuousness, which it is the express object of Christianity to oppose. Hence the danger of the "love-feast," the "watch-night," the "band-meeting," and the "holy salutation;" where temptation may prove more powerful from being unsuspected, and from lurking beneath the as-

pect of kind and Christian affections. Hence, rocked in a false and fatal unconsciousness of danger, by the sacredness of the place and of the occasion, the soul is still further charmed from off its guard, by the soothing and specious lullaby of spiritual songs, which insensibly delude and deprave the imagination, by allusions to carnal objects and to affections of the earth. It is a coarse, but probably a correct epithet, to characterize many hymns of Methodism as "luscious." Containing no references to the gratitude of a pure heart, to that elevation of soul, which is defecated from gross ideas, they have been rightly styled "a religious debauchery, an exquisite and spiritualized concupiscence*." What a shock must the purity of a chaste female mind derive, from the allusion contained in the following evening hymn, which is inserted in almost every collection :

No further go to-night, but stay,
Dear Saviour, till the break of day ;
 TURN IN, dear Lord, with me ;
And in the morning, when I wake,
Me in thy arms, my Jesus, take,
 And I'll go on with thee.

* Coventry's Philemon to Hydaspes.

 " Stay, my beloved, with me here,
 Stay till the morning star appear :

My restless desires admit of no equal companion : it is thee,
O uncreated beauty, that I love—in thee, as in their blissful
centre, all my desires meet, &c."—Rowe's Devout Exercises.

In this respect, Methodism and Popery are closely allied*, and Madame Guion was in France what Mrs. Rowe was in England. The Song of Solomon is a beautiful oriental apologue descriptive of the love which Christ beareth to the Church: but what should we judge of that ignorance and impropriety which should adapt its phraseology to the spiritual intercourse betwixt a virgin and the Saviour of mankind; or to the breathings of benevolence in a mixed congregation?

When men carry up the analogies of earth to heaven, they ought to approach God as children offering a respectful love to their parent. This was the constant practice of the Saviour upon earth, who set no example of the familiarities of Methodism. When God is termed the husband of the soul, when the Saviour is "dear, and sweet, and fair, and beautiful;" when a desire to gaze on his face, and to lean on

* *Jactant connubium essentiae creatæ et divinitatis: somnium omnium affectionum; absorptionem et liquefactionem in amplexu sponsi, amorem amplexantem, sugentem sponsi ubera; applicationes amorosas, animæ suspensiones, deliquium, suspiria, cordis contactum et patefactionem, voces tremulas, &c.*—Archbishop Rovenius de Republica Christiana.

"Fix your eye on Christ, as the fairest of men, the perfection of spiritual beauty; yea, leave him not, till his voice say, My well-beloved is mine, and I am his: yea, tell him you are sick of love, &c."—*Marrow of modern Divinity*, p. 349.

See also *Methodist Magazine* for 1807, April.

his bosom, is chanted in the spiritual song, the Methodist may not be aware what lawless conceptions are engendered by the use of such earth-drawn imagery. But let any man read the popular story of the Dairyman's Daughter, perhaps the least exceptionable pamphlet of its class * ; and if he perceive not in the epistles of that forward and scribbling peasant, an indistinct, undefined feeling which she entertained, but durst not avow, and which she disguised from her own view under the triple folding of zeal, and teachableness, and holy charity, he is little versed in the windings of the human heart †.

* Translated into most of the European languages, and in return for which the author received a beautiful ring from the Emperor Alexander.

† As if it were not sufficient to teach these unhallowed analogies and conceptions, Methodism contrives the talking about them, under the character of experiences. Here it bears a striking resemblance to Popish confession: but the confession of a class or band meeting, differs widely from the delicate communications of a confessional. It is confession, not to one, whom, from his age and character, the female has ever from her infancy been taught to regard with fatherly or more than fatherly reverence, and who, by the holiest oaths and severest penalties, is bound to inviolable secrecy; but to companions of her own sex and age, who will make it their tea-table talk; and each of whom is, by a similar confession, made to renew and sear her shame. Either from natural and sacred modesty the thought will be concealed and made more intense by the imagined sinfulness of that concealment; or it

Indeed, the love of God is all in all in the creed of Methodism: a correct principle, when rightly understood, but, as we have seen, strangely disfigured. Our affections are to be alienated from the creature altogether: since we assimilate our character to what we love, it is a sin to love an imperfect creature, because we shall grow down to the standard of his imperfections. Thus the axe is laid to the root of all those amiable affections, which bind friend to friend, child to parent, husband to wife; the love of religion is to encroach upon and inumbrate all; and this not only when duty to God is placed in direct competition with these affections, but on the most trivial and ordinary occasions. As if He who said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, had not added, and thy neighbour as thyself; and as if in the general benevolence of which Christ left us a pattern, he had

will be confessed, and that action will strengthen the idea, and the idea will recur more frequently, because it is thus strengthened: and this confession will be again and again required, till a single pleasure be at length extracted from confession itself, the atonement will partake of the nature of the sin, and all modesty and all shame will be utterly destroyed. Such is the certain issue, when every incipient feeling, every lighter thought, that would have passed over the maiden's mind and been forgotten, is to be remarked and remembered, that it may be renewed and rivetted, and burnt into the heart, by the pain and shame of confession.—*Annual Review*—quoted in the *Portraiture of Methodism*.

not selected a disciple, whom he pre-eminently loved; or recommended to that disciple, with his latest and fondest thought, the mother who bore him into the world.

It is perhaps to this distribution of preachers in circuits (through which they are to make their tours, and where they are to continue no longer than one year), more than to any other cause, that the rapid increase of the Methodist society is to be ascribed. It is the nature of enthusiasm to consume itself. Like the taper lighted in oxygen gas, the brighter it burns, the faster it wastes. Under a pastor resident among one congregation during a course of years, any impassioned devotion, occasioned by new impressions, would subside, in the truly converted, into the calm Christianity of uniform service and settled affections; in the evil-disposed, the self-deceivers who mistake feelings for genuine holiness, into ultimate lukewarmness and indifference. And this is generally the result experienced from the labours of the orthodox established clergy. Of whatever devout persons we boast in our congregations, and every congregation contains some of that description; we are certain, or next to certain, of the uninterrupted continuance unto the end, in piety and irreproachable living. Their habits are settled: their principle is uniform. Their love to God, and good-will towards men, depend not on

sudden impulses, on evanescent stimulations, on the exertions of one preacher any more than of another. They keep the tenour of their way to heaven, noiseless, it is true, but even and unbroken. And such disciples are doubtless as valuable Christians, and as amiable private characters, as any self-protruding sons of the conventicle, "vaunting of their gifts, and making a fairer show in the flesh."

But, it must be granted, that they are not actuated by the same warm zeal of conversion, which prompts the Methodist to strenuous and unwearied exertions in multiplying proselytes to the faith. The labours of the pastor too, who has been long resident in a parish, are directed more to the building up of his congregation in faith and holiness, than to exciting first alarms in the breast of the sinner. Having laid the foundation, he is occupied about the edifice; he presents his people with a general scheme of their relative duties; he unfolds the whole counsel of God, and expatiates not exclusively among the first principles of its oracles. Hence, one reason why the Church furnishes fewer instances of striking conversions from notorious and shameless profligacy, than are to be found among the members of a sect, the flame of whose enthusiasm is continually supplied with fresh fuel, whose passions are kept in a constant fever; and whose preachers, from the nature of their

regulations, which present to each itinerant tourist a new congregation, are more employed in inviting transgressors to the porch, than in teaching them how to conduct themselves after their entrance into the temple. It was to the appointment of annual consuls, that the Romans were chiefly indebted for their dominion over the whole world, as well as for that military spirit which enabled them to conquer. Each officer, being desirous to signalize his brief season of authority, was more intent on making a conquest, and on enlarging the map of empire, than on meliorating the internal constitution of the state.

Now, whatever praise, in this respect, candour may allow to Methodism; with whatever justice it may be affirmed, that to impress with some, though an imperfect sense of religion, is preferable to leaving in shameless profligacy, it will not, perhaps, be held illiberal to remark, that the natural consequence of such regulations is, that both preachers and hearers shall satisfy themselves with warm professions, and striking manifestations of sanctity, accompanied with a dereliction of the more open and scandalous offences; while they will pay less attention than is usual within the pale of the Establishment, to the minor morals, to the delicacies of conscience, to the harmony of the Christian temper, to the polish and perfection

of character; to the charities belonging to the domestic relations of life; to the decencies and modest adornings of Evangelical morality, in those who by divine grace have already come unto Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins.

Another material advantage resulting from the distribution of itinerant preachers in circuits, to which it is reasonable to attribute the multiplication of the Methodists, is the increasing fund of gratification which it affords to the love of novelty in the hearers. This is a passion deeply rooted in the human breast; and not to be entirely separated from it, even by the highest improvements in holiness. The most profane sabbath-breaker will, once at least, resort to his parish-church, to satisfy his curiosity on the accession of a new incumbent or curate. When the preacher of a Methodist society, then, is removed from his residence, after a year, or two years of service; when even during that limited time he is travelling over the circuit, and leaving his pulpit to a succession of "those who lecture as they go;" to a magic lantern of preachers; to the whole originals of the frontispieces in the *Evangelical Magazine*; is it not evident that curiosity alone, independent of other motives, must continually crowd the places of sectarian worship, throughout the district on which so dire a visitation is inflicted? Profligates, being thus drawn together to a conventicle, where a variety

of instructors, whose personal enthusiasm is kept up by the novelty of those audiences, on whose enthusiasm the novelty of their preachers re-acts, are continually urging the same invitation of coming—and of coming to Christ, but urging it in various modes, with various countenances, and in various turns of expression, are not unlikely to be roused by one amongst many; and (to use the conventicle diction) to be caught in the net of the Gospel. Let any man open the Evangelical or Methodist Magazine, and look who is to preach at the Tabernacle, and who is to preach at Queen Street, and so forth, during all the Sundays of each ensuing month, and he will have some conception of this web of artifice. But further, by this means, an ignorant and illiterate preacher, whose scanty stock of rude ideas would be speedily exhausted, were he restricted to one flock during any length of time, is enabled, by weaving his slender acquirements into the substance of a dozen discourses and prayers, to obtain the credit of inspiration in all the counties of England. In 1801, a Methodist of Halifax carried his daughter, a child about eight years of age, on a preaching perambulation through all the northern counties. This child had one or two sermons, and one or two prayers, conned over by rote, to pass for immediate inspirations. She touched at every town, and officiated a

single night; while her fame went abroad, and thousands flocked from far and near, to wonder at this infant prodigy of the pulpit.

What chance could even a Barrow, a Tillotson, or a Sherlock, preaching in one country town from year to year, have against such a raree-show of changed pictures; against a succession of such imps and impositions?

To these benefits, accruing from the system of circuits, we must add, that it is calculated, with admirable address, to conceal from the people any little imperfections in the moral characters of their preachers; and while affording a ground-plan of their faith, to leave no time for examining the correspondence of their works. The established clergy, though, as a body, they have little cause to dread the severest and closest scrutiny of their conduct, are men, and are not destitute of those flaws and imperfections, of which Methodists, being likewise men, must needs possess their share. But while the former, spending their whole lifetime in the same neighbourhood, can hardly, with every vigilance, avoid committing some errors, which subject them to censures, unfavourable to the success of their ministry, the itinerant preacher is whisked from one district to another, at the very moment when the gloss of imposing novelty is beginning to wear off from his character, and when his blindest admirers would be unable to

disallow some detected leprosy, that might lurk beneath the surface of his professions and vociferations.

On all these accounts, the writer of the preceding strictures would humbly suggest the expediency of bringing the established and itinerant ministry more nearly on a level of advantage. Not that a residence for life in one parish should be abandoned: for the uniform and amiable example of a pastor, whose faults are few, and whose virtues are great, must be infinitely more profitable, upon the whole, in improving the morals of a district, than the searching sermons of a thousand roving fanatics. But where would be the intolerance of restraining by an act of the Legislature, this shifting system, this rambling spirit of Methodism? Let Government say to the Methodists, You shall have what you desire—you shall have what you are continually clamouring for; the clergy shall be forced into residence; and *you* shall be forced also. Wherever one of you obtains what he calls a cure of souls, there is he to remain for the natural term of his life; and even there he shall be liable to a penalty, if he shall be found not to have preached—say forty or thirty Sundays, every year, in his own pulpit. But no, no; we shall immediately be told by our ultra-liberals, that this is not toleration, but persecution. Yet it is pretty nearly the perse-

cution which the established clergy undergo ; and the fact completely evinces that THEY are the only sect, the only body kept under, the only society, really persecuted, within the limits of the British empire.

In the mean time, the established clergy might, with much advantage, occasionally deliver a varied word of advice, from the pulpits of each other. All have not the same gifts : an amiable man may be timid, awkward, low-voiced, hesitating in speech, and unfortunate in his public exhibitions. Self-love may conceal some of these imperfections from his own consciousness : but it is right that his flock should now and then receive a treat, in the more animated address of a neighbouring orator, which shall convert their duty into a pleasure. Great good has been produced in Manchester and in other large towns, by the establishment of a weekly lecture in the parish-church, where every one of the clergy in the town and neighbourhood officiates in regular rotation. Such a plan is found to be beneficial in various ways ; it takes away that excuse of " No Sunday clothes to come to church in," which the very poor urge often (though dissoluteness, and not poverty, be the cause of it), in attempting a vindication of their absence ; it provides, at the same time, for another complaint, namely, want of accommodation for the inferior classes ; and

it furnishes that variety of preaching which is at least defensible, when we consider, that, without it, the established and itinerant ministers cannot well be said to "start fair."

Again, why is it that so strong a leaning towards the Methodist interest should be observable in the comparative facility with which they are permitted to multiply their places of worship? One church, one conventicle, might seem to be toleration enough. But as it is, while the Conventicle Act precludes the established ministry from preaching in any part of their cures save the parish-church, and while chapels of ease are not erected without various consents, and security for endowment; a conventicle starts up in every hamlet, like Aladdin's palace, or a preaching-room is licensed without difficulty at the nearest sessions. Now, many of the parishes in England are of vast extent. Halifax is 37 miles in circumference: my three first curacies of Ormskirk, Frodsham, and Warrington, are not much less; and there were hamlets in each full six miles from the parish-church, while the first and the last could boast but one chapel each, and the second none. There were preachments and prayer-meetings in every hamlet in all of them. Consider, then, the case of a husbandman with his wife, children, and domestics, in the winter season, six miles from his parish-church, and having a

place of sectarian worship close at his elbow. Is this man likely to understand the refinements of a dissertation upon the true church, an episcopal succession, a regular ministry, a sublime liturgy, and the sin of schism? No: with plain simplicity he concludes, that if, in an honest heart, he passes his Sabbath in any place whatever where the word of God is preached and expounded, he satisfactorily discharges his duty to his Maker, and sows the seeds of immortal life. What remedy the Legislature might interpose, in this case, so exceedingly disadvantageous to the Establishment, it were presumptuous in me to pronounce. It must either consist in annulling or modifying the Conventicle Act, in multiplying the regular chapels, or in checking the increase of the irregular ones. The Act (of 1818) for building churches, will want a reinforcement of funds sufficient to remedy the evil effectually; an evil, which has recently attained a most serious magnitude, in the happy invention of arks, alias floating, alias moveable chapels, which threatens the mooring of a conventicle alongside of every parish-church contiguous to a river or navigable canal, and its conveyance from place to place, for the convenience of sectarism, and to the unspeakable annoyance of the clergy. Since the times of the tabernacle in the wilderness, this portable and travelling church was never known or dreamt of. It is carrying the

temple to Dan and Beersheba and Samaria, and where not. The story of our Lady of Loretto is a mere joke to it. It is certainly a knowing **SHIFT** of Methodism : but our poor peasantry, I fear, will find, ere long, to their cost, that these religious Argonauts, like their namesakes of old, will not return from their expedition, without a fleece.

To give a colour of necessity to all these circumventions, the Methodists are continually asserting that the leading cause of dissent is the supineness and reprehensible conduct of the Established Clergy ; and that if parochial ministers did their duty, there would be far less dissent and far less occasion for it. Of all the many miseries that are heaped upon our heads, this is that last completion of the burden which we find the most galling and the most unjust. And shame is it to relate, that this foul calumny, this odious slander, finds propagators even among some of our own brethren ; and that we are wounded in the house of our friends. But you, whoever you be, who give diffusion to so vile an outcry, I tell you to your face, in the name of the great body of my indignant and offended brethren, that you lie, and you know you lie. Produce your proofs. How many records of suspensions for immorality, within the last twenty years, do you find in the ecclesiastical courts ? Have ten men, in that

time, been convicted of immorality, throughout all the dioceses of England? and God knows we have had enemies enough. There are two hundred regular officiating clergy in the metropolis. Surely in that centre of dissipation it would not be deemed strange, if some few were reproachful to their sacred order. But point me out one ecclesiastic addicted to any scandalous vice. Throughout the country, again, you behold a body of humble and deserving individuals, most of them nursed in the lap of luxury, among the refinements of literature, and the delights of elegant society, sitting down contented under the privation of all these advantages; surrounded, perhaps worried, by soaking boors and smoking farmers; interdicted by their profession from a free use, many interdicting themselves, through conscience, of any use, of those field-sports which the country substitutes for the intellectual and refined pleasures of the metropolis; taking all the pains possible, doing every thing that can be expected from moderate and rational zeal; some of them attended by lukewarm hearers, who bear no good-will to them or to their cause, and who would rather pull them down than support them; and these are the characters accused of immoral living: these men, repeating faithfully the round of their duties in churches having no attractions, no music, no decoration, no varieties; are charged with su-

pineness by a body of jaunting preachers, continually on a tour of pleasure, seeing fresh scenes, enjoying new hospitalities, holding forth to new congregations, revelling and wantoning in variety ; and not capable of knowing what the ennui of a profession is : this is, to be sure, as unpalatable a draught as can be forced down the throats of the regular clergy. Here, however, in dull flats, and sickly marshes, and barren wastes, and stupid societies, they MUST remain, as they cheerfully do : for what living can bear the provisions of the curates' bill, of force whenever the incumbent keeps not his full residence of nine months ?

But further ; if it were indeed true, that the supineness of the established pastors is the occasion of the flourishing state of dissent, it would follow, that wherever the regular ministry are the reverse of supine, there dissent would languish. But is this correspondent with matter of fact ? Ask the Evangelical clergy themselves, who approach so nearly to dissent, that the Dissenters pretend to hug them as their brethren, whether they can keep their identical congregations ; you will find that their hearers are, in fact, only a stream, flowing into their chapels from the church, and out of them into the conventicle. And this is owing to two several causes : first, the Methodists take special care, whenever a clergyman is peculiarly zealous, to plant an able competitor at his side, who may vie with

him in popularity and take advantage of his successes; and, secondly, it is natural to the human mind to increase its stimulants, when it has begun to be dissatisfied with plain food—to rise from port to brandy.

XVI.—Among the inferior sects in point of numbers or importance, which arose at the same æra with the Methodists, the MORAVIANS, *Unitas Fratrum*, or *Hernhutters*, demand particular notice. They claim descent from the old Moravian brethren, who existed as a distinct sect, sixty years prior to the Reformation. They affirm, that the kings of Bulgaria and Moravia were converted by two Greek monks, Methodius and Cyrillus, of whom the former was their first bishop, and the latter translated the Scriptures into the Slavonic tongue, for their use. In 1467 they sent priests, to receive episcopal consecration, from the bishop of the Waldenses; and despatched missionaries into various countries. In 1523, these United Brethren, then called the *Fratres Legis Christi*, from having rejected human compilations of faith, united themselves with the Reformers, and assented to the confession of Augsburg. After this, they were subjected to several grievous persecutions, which dispersed many of their fraternity in different parts of Europe. One colony was, in 1722, conducted from Fulneck in Moravia, to Upper Lusatia, where they received protection from Zinzendorf, the father

of the present societies; and built a village on his estate at the foot of a hill, called Hutberg, or Watch-hill. Hence, their name of Hernhutters, for Hernhutt signifies the watch of the Lord. Zinzendorf at first attempted to convert them to the Church established by law; but failing in this object, and admiring their doctrine and manners, he became a convert to their faith and discipline *.

In 1738, Zinzendorf, having received orders, was consecrated one of their bishops; on which occasion he was congratulated by Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury; who told Bishop Secker, that he admitted as regular, the Moravian episcopal succession. Afterwards, the British parliament acknowledged the *Unitas Fratrum* to be an Episcopal Protestant Church; and in 1794 an Act was passed in their favour.

They have settlements in the East and West Indies, in European and Asiatic Russia, in Persia, at the Cape of Good Hope, and in Greenland; but chiefly at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania. Here they carry on their work in silence and with moderation; seeking to reform the world, but

* Rinius's History of the Moravians, p. 16, 18, 19. Moravian Maxims, p. 18, 20, 44, 45, 67, 86. Zinzendorf's Sermons, p. 200. Manual of Doctrine, p. 9. Gillies's Success of the Gospel, vol. ii. p. 66. Dickinson's Letters, p. 169. Crantz's History of the *Unitas Fratrum*. Wild's Travels. Spangenberg's Exposition of Christian Doctrine. Haweis's Church History, vol. iii, p. 184.

not quarrelling with it; enduring heat and cold and every privation; consulting the temporal good of the people whom they seek to convert; and imparting to them education and useful arts. Their establishment in England is on a small scale, and their influence quite inconsiderable. They keep the noiseless tenour of their way, and are not a proselytizing sect. Their largest establishment is situated in a romantic dell, at Fulneck, near Leeds.

Though the Moravians insist on the necessity of episcopal ordination, their bishops have no rank or authority: their church having, ever since its establishment, been governed by synods, composed of deputies from the various congregations, and by other subordinate bodies, whose assemblies they term conferences. The synods are convened once in seven years; and each is convoked by the elders of its predecessor. Women are admitted to hear, and to assist with their advice; but possess no vote. In questions of importance, of which the consequences cannot be clearly foreseen, no majority of votes, nor even unanimous consent, is regarded as decisive, without an appeal to the lot. But this test is reserved only for questions apparently eligible, and maturely weighed; nor is it applied without solemn prayer. Towards the close of the synod, which determines on ecclesiastical discipline and government,

an executive board is chosen, called the elders' conference of the Unity : and this is subdivided into four committees ; one for missions, one for the doctrine and morals of the congregations, one for their economical affairs, and the last for church discipline. Another body, entitled the elders' conference of the congregation, consists of the minister as president ; and of some other individuals, superintending the young, the married, and the women. They have deacons who are ecclesiastics ; deaconesses, who are not permitted to teach, and lay elders, in contradistinction to the bishops or spiritual elders. Their missions and marriages are directed by their superiors, and both are confirmed by lot. Their schools are excellent seminaries for moral education.

The Moravians are remarkable for submission to the control of their superiors, who divide them into classes : by which distribution, separate and appropriate instructions are delivered to the young and the old ; the married and the single ; the rich and the poor ; servants, females, children. Each class is subdivided into the dead, the ignorant, the willing, the progressive. Much pains are bestowed in the cultivation of church-music—their hymns are often a connected contemplation of some Scriptural subject. The dead are interred perpendicularly, with a small square stone placed

over them: and this order proceeds in lines along the cemetery, without regard to any distinction, save the time of dying.

This sect celebrates the Passion week and other festivals; and holds communion on Maundy Thursday, and every fourth Sunday throughout the year. There is a litany for Sunday, with several occasional liturgies. Persecution originally, and afterwards an anxiety to preserve their young from the taint of vice, have induced them to delight in forming settlements; where the young men, the young women, and the widows, live separately; all supporting themselves by their industry, and paying a separate sum for their board and lodging.

In regard to doctrine, the Moravians assent generally to the Augsburg confession of faith; yet decline giving any decided opinion respecting particular election. They maintain, that creation and sanctification, belonging principally to the Saviour, ought not to be jointly ascribed to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and that, in order to avoid idolatry, devotion should be addressed principally to Jesus, the appointed channel of the Deity. Christ, they affirm, has conquered, not as God, but as man, with the same powers which we possess in our spiritual warfare. Further, they deny, that the law ought to be preached, under the Gospel dispensation. Another tenet states, that the children

of God have to combat, not with their own sins, but with the corruption that prevails in the world. Faith is defined to be a joyful persuasion of our interest in Christ, and of our title to his purchased salvation. They extend the universal church of Christ, to many who may differ from them in opinions of minor importance.

Since there is little in this sect, if it be called a sect, to blame with much severity, there is little formally to answer. The Moravians are highly useful among savage nations; while they are not proselytizing or mischievous or uncharitable at home. Yet, if they differ not in doctrine from the Established Church, they are deserving of some censure for making a needless rent in the garment that ought to be without seam; and in this manner countenancing other schismatics, more restless, dangerous, and hostile. Their absorption in the Church would draw closer the bonds of love. All schism is an evil: and the more unnecessary it is, so much it is the more culpable. Objections to the want of set forms of prayer have been stated in the preceding chapters of this work: and the Moravian liturgies are imperfect, admitting extemporaneous devotion.

Though the address of prayers to the Son may undoubtedly be justified by his divinity, the Moravians seem to err in carrying their

worship of that second Person in the Trinity, to an extent which may be termed exclusive: for God is to be addressed as Creator and Preserver, not less than as Redeemer; as Sanctifier, not less than as deliverer from the thrall of sin; as a father, rather than as an elder brother; as the God of all mankind, and not only as the God of Christians; and, finally, with a reverence and an awe proper to temper those familiarities which might arise from a consideration of the Supreme Being only in the person of the meek and lowly Jesus.

That the law, and the moral law, ought not to be preached under the dispensation and fuller light of the Gospel, is contrary to the teaching both of our Lord and his Apostles. Our Lord declared that he came not to destroy the LAW, but to fulfil it: and when he was asked by a certain ruler what he ought to do, in order to inherit eternal life, he replied, How readest thou the LAW? Thou shalt not commit adultery, nor kill, nor bear false witness: this do, and thou shalt live: as, likewise, on another occasion; Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and thy neighbour as thyself—on these two commandments hang all the LAW and the prophets. The whole sermon on the Mount is a string of preceptive injunctions, explanatory and perfective of the moral LAW; and calculated to elucidate the divine Teacher's words, "If thou wilt

enter into life, keep the commandments." The Apostles, too, laid equal stress on an observance of the moral law; nay, laid it down as a rule, that whosoever should keep the whole LAW, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all.

That the children of God have not to combat with their own sins, is another Moravian error; in like manner contradicted by the whole sermon on the Mount. Cast the beam out of thine own eye. Teaching us, that, *denying ungodliness and worldly lusts*, we should walk righteously in the world. We are to abstain from fleshly lusts that war against the soul. These and an hundred other passages plainly evince, that our warfare is with sin within our own breasts.

Faith, say the Moravians, is a joyful persuasion of our interest in Christ, and of our title to his purchased salvation. This is the Methodist doctrine of assurance. Let both Methodists and Moravians "rejoice with TREMBLING."—"Faith is the substance of things hoped for; the evidence of things not seen." But we are not assured of what is only hoped for; assured we may be of their existence: but whether or not we shall obtain them, we are too frail, too much blotted with imperfection to be assured. Paul was not assured, for he states the possibility of his being, in the end,

cast away. Work out your salvation with fear and trembling.

We may add, that excessive attention bestowed on church music, tends to render religion too much a system of feelings: as in Catholic countries, the sublimest and tenderest harmonies are estimated and felt merely as exciting the transient and pleasurable emotions of an oratorio. Impassioned hymns, addressed in the language of love to the Saviour in his humiliated capacity, are repulsive to chaste and sober piety.

XVII. That a good man should lift his heart above terrestrial objects, that he should aspire to assimilate his mind to the serenity of the third heavens, and that the pure love whose object is God, should delight to repose itself on the bosom of the divine perfections, is but the natural result of ardent and amiable feelings. Nor is this pious frame of mind deserving of censure, unless it interfere with the ordinary duties of life. When carried to excess, it becomes sublimated into mysticism: an evil which prevailed during the reign of George II. Law's *Call to the Unconverted* has been justly praised by Dr. Johnson, as the finest piece of hortatory theology in our language. But as the author had imbibed the mystical philosophy of Jacob Behmen, it ought to be read along with a paper drawn up by Bishop Horne,

under the title of *Cautions to Readers of Mr. Law*. This tract, together with a letter to a lady, on the subject of Jacob Behmen's writings, is to be found in the *Life of that Prelate* by his friend, Jones. The Mystics were never incorporated into a distinct sect, if we except the disciples of Swedenborg, to be afterwards noticed. Some of them profess a high-wrought piety; and others delight in allegorizing Scripture. Among the former may be numbered Fenelon and Law: among the latter, the whole school of Hutchinson.

Mystical divinity, or an abstracted, sublime devotion, has been the delight of the learned and the ignorant; but one peculiar description of it consisting in an enthusiasm of the mind rather than in an ardour of the feelings, was confined to Hebrew scholars. John Hutchinson, dying in the year 1727, left his name to a party, which greatly increased after his decease; including Romaine, Horne, Parkhurst, Lord Culloden, Jones of Nayland, Stevens, Wetherell, Master of University College, and Hodges, the Head of Oriel*.

These, in imitation of their master, struck out a new and fanciful mode of reasoning, on philosophy, theology, antiquities, and other

* See the author of *Sophron*—Jones's *Life of Stevens*—Jones on *Figurative Language of Scripture*—Horne's *Abstract of Hutchinson's Writings*, Edin. 1753.

sciences. In 1724 appeared the first part of Hutchinson's book, entitled *Moses's Principia*, in which he ridiculed Woodward's theory of the earth, and Sir Isaac Newton's doctrine of gravitation*.

This writer considered the Hebrew language without points, to be the language of God himself; and to contain recondite allusions to mental or spiritual things. He thought that natural philosophy and theology were wrapt up in its terms; and that by consulting its etymology, and attending to the sensible objects which its phrases expressed, allusions might be discovered to the divine essence, or to spiritual action. Thus *Berith*, which we render, covenant, he translates purifier; and *Cherubim*, he treats as an emblem of man, taken into the divinity in Christ. *Melchizedec* he considered, not as a type of Christ, but as a second Person of the Trinity in a human form: he conceived the air of the solar system to become grosser towards the circumference; and to be stagnant towards the pitch of outer darkness. The substance of air, being fire, light, and spirit, is the symbol of a Trinity in unity: for God is

* When in his last illness, Dr. Mead, intending to cheer him, assured him he would soon send him to *Moses*; Hutchinson, not perceiving that a return to his studies was meant, dismissed the physician, observing, "I believe, Doctor, you will."

called a spirit in the sacred volume; and also the true light, and a consuming fire. Thus are the Hebrew language and the Holy Scriptures the source of all knowledge, human and divine: even the Jewish ceremonies and the whole Levitical law contain an allegorical sense; and the Old Testament thus studied, will be found to speak amply concerning the nature and character of the Messiah. The Hutchinsonians never departed from the Established Church, with whose doctrines, their faith, bating only the few peculiarities above recited, and some unphilosophical notions in natural philosophy, entirely coincides. Their fanciful system of deriving philosophical theories and theological doctrines, from the vague construction of roots and symbols, was attacked as subversive of human learning, as well as of natural religion. To this Bishop Horne replied, that there is no such thing as natural religion, no man having been ever left to himself; and that that which we term so, is, in fact, traditionary infidelity. He added, that there is no morality, saving that preceded by justification and sanctification; and that much of the learning of modern times deserves to be decried, as not at all subservient to the cause of truth.

The fault of the Hutchinsonians is the general fault of system-makers; that of carrying their theory too far. Vitruvius made architecture comprehend, at one sweep, history, ethics,

music, astronomy, natural philosophy, physic, and civil law. There is, undoubtedly, a natural theology in the minds of reasoning men; “for God, even when he suffered nations to walk in darkness, never left himself without a witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness” (Acts, xiv. 16, 17): that is to say, thanksgiving was inferred by natural theology, as a duty to the manifested Giver of good. Again—“for the invisible things of *him*, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen; being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead: so that they are without excuse, because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, but changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an image made like unto corruptible man, and to birds, and to four-footed beasts, and to creeping things.” (Rom. i. 23.) This is plainly spoken in relation to the heathens, and not to the Jews. It was the heathens who clearly saw and inferred the invisible things of God, not by preternatural impression, but by the inference of natural theology, from the order of things which were seen; and things which disclosed to them a Being of consummate power, convinced them of the Godship of that Being. How, likewise, will the theory of Bishop Horne dis-

pose of such works as Cicero de Natura Deorum, and Plato on the Immortality of the Soul? There was clearly in the old time, a natural religion, pointing out God and his Providence, and intimating a future state: but it was an imperfect theology, destitute of assurances, and imparting little consolation, because not built on a rock. Yet if the Hutchinsonians will still deny a natural theology, as resulting from the reasoning powers of man, it will be more consistent with propriety, to term natural religion, traditional faith, than traditional infidelity.

If men once begin to attach their faith to recondite allusions, to allegorical subtleties, they desert the plain road of truth, and the secure Rock of ages, to embark on a sea of wild imagination. Religion, then, ceases to be a matter of certainties, accessible to the poorest, intelligible to the most ignorant, defined within precise limits, and forming a system in which bodies of men can be brought to agree. Every individual would in this case allegorize for himself: "every one would have a doctrine."

This system of allegorizing is altogether to be deprecated, unless kept within the restrictions which bound the application of types; namely, the fair connexion between the things signifying and signified, either specified in Scripture, or universally and indisputably obvious.

That the foundation of all knowledge is to be found in the Pentateuch, is a position in the highest degree absurd. The Pentateuch neither taught, nor was intended to teach, astronomy: I cite here only one science among many. The heavens, indeed, declare the glory of God: their brilliance, their magnificence, their order, show forth his conspicuous providence, his wisdom, and his goodness. But the Pentateuch described them as they appear to vulgar eyes; for its object was to teach religion, and not natural philosophy. Copernicus discovered that the sun was in the centre; and Newton, that the rainbow was formed by refracted rays of light*.

That the Old Testament spoke amply, both by prophecy and type, concerning the nature and person of Christ, is neither a discovery nor an error of the Hutchinsonians. But so far was the knowledge of true religion itself from being complete, under the Old Testament dispensation (for that would have precluded the necessity for the Gospel), that it was not fully developed (we speak with reverence) even at the death of our Saviour. "For I have yet many things to say unto you; but ye

* But the Hutchinsonians allegorized this opening of the 19th Psalm, by asserting, that the heavens declared the moral attributes of God, his judgment, truth, and righteousness.

cannot bear them now: howbeit, when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he shall guide you into all truth." (John, xvi. 12, 13.)

Knowledge, like light, is designed to be admitted gradually, that the eye may not be dazzled and blasted with its floods. In the individual, it is progressive from infancy to manhood: and the analogy is discernible in the history of the world. Revelation is designed to be a system of faith and practice; the matters of prime importance to the spirit in its connexion with God. In the secular branches of learning, man has been wisely left to the stimulus of curiosity, to the inventions of necessity, and to the results of rational investigation. The Bible is not an Encyclopædia.

All comparisons of the Trinity to fire, light, and spirit, or to any other sensible substances, lead either directly to tritheism; or else to a resolution of the sublime, incomprehensible mystery of a triune God, into the comprehensible notion of influences: a doctrine akin to Unitarianism.

When God is, in Scripture, pronounced a *spirit*, the true *light*, and a consuming *fire*, it is clear that the first term alludes simply to his immateriality; while the two others are metaphors signifying his communication of knowledge, and his determined vengeance against sin. A consultation of the contexts,

in the passages wherein such phrases occur, will show these to be the obvious meanings. All others are fanciful and far-fetched.

The Hutchinsonians, in magnifying the value of the Hebrew language, object to much of the learning of modern times, as not subservient to the cause of truth. But surely if some branches of learning, useful to mankind in a secular point of view, be not prejudicial to divine truth, they are not to be condemned for not being directly subservient to it. Further: we cannot tell in what degree divine truth may be elucidated, by discoveries in sciences seemingly the most remote from it. Dr. Chalmers has recently shown how astronomy, in its improved state, furnishes analogies for illustrating Christianity: I allude chiefly to that passage, in which, adverting to the greater glory accruing to the conqueror, from a private visit to the cottage of indigence, than from all his splendid triumphs, he replies to those who have objected, that our earth is too insignificant a speck in a small system, to merit the stupendous interposition of incarnate Divinity. May not other sciences, in the rapid progress of intelligence, lead on to similar conclusions? Even the objections to the Mosaic cosmogony, stated by chronologers and geologists, have been shown to be altogether futile; Sir William Jones and Dr. Hale having detected the fallacy of the

one; while Saussure, De Luc, Kirwan, Townsend, Cuvier, and Kidd, have triumphed over the other. It is no small advantage, to prove, that Revelation dreads not the light; and that she shines forth more gloriously, in the march of discovery. In fact, the whole science of nature, and the whole philosophy of mind, conduct us to the shrine of Revelation; partly by speaking in harmony with its oracles, and partly by confessing their own imperfections, unaided by superior light. But to what end heap up all secular knowledge, as a monopoly, in the treasures of the Hebrew language? The vulgar Hebrew itself is not the original language of mankind; or even of the Pentateuch. The Samaritan is older, and indeed the real Hebrew. Nor would any evident advantage be derived from supposing either to be a general dictionary of occult truths. Such a notion is the mere pride and parade of human learning.

That there is no morality unless that preceded by justification and sanctification, is a false straining of the Article which maintains, that good works done before the grace of God, have in themselves the nature of sin. This is applicable to Christians baptized and religiously educated; and is pronounced to exclude the boasting of self-righteousness. In heathens, who act up to their lights, there is a morality,

an accepted morality; perhaps the effect of sanctification, and certainly accepted through the retrospective sacrifice of Christ: yet, the recipients being necessarily ignorant of these benefits, it is a morality, strictly speaking, antecedent to them. Some "who had not the law, made a law unto themselves" (Rom. ii. 14); and "a man is accepted according to that he hath, and not according to that he hath not." (2 Cor. viii. 12.)

XVIII. Nothing can be too visionary or too absurd for the human mind, when it imparts its wings with the pinions of fancy; and deserting the firm ground of reason and revelation, essays to soar into the regions of spiritual existence. Well-educated and universally learned, the Honourable Emanuel Swedenborg became early distinguished for his abilities, at the court of Sweden*. In the year 1743 he professed to have been favoured with a new revelation, and to have ascended to the invisible world. Theology, from that period, became his only study; and he composed, in good, but unornamented Latin, many books illustrative of his own peculiar views. In these his tenets, different from those of all other sects, are supported by numberless texts of Scripture. In allusion to the New Jerusalem, mentioned in the book of Revelations, he de-

* Gregory's Christian Church, vol. ii.; Maclean's Sophron and Philadelphus; Mosheim; Adam's Religious World.

clared himself the founder of a religious society, called the New Jerusalem Church; though he lived and died in the Lutheran communion, and professed a high veneration for the Church of England. He gave out that God, in the beginning of his mission, manifested himself to him in a personal appearance, and opened his spiritual eyes; enabling him thenceforward to hold converse with angelic natures. His visions of the other world, where he saw the angels formed into societies, and dwelling in houses, surrounded by courts, fields, and parterres, are in his *Treatise of Heaven and Hell* minutely described.

Swedenborg carried his respect for the person and divinity of Jesus Christ to the highest pitch of veneration; considering him altogether as God manifested in the flesh; as the fulness of the Godhead united to the man Jesus. From this peculiar view was generated a subtle Unitarianism; for, rejecting the idea of three distinct Persons, as destructive of the unity of the Godhead, he admitted three distinct essences; the divine essence, or Creator, the human essence, or Redeemer; and the proceeding essence, or Holy Ghost: these, he asserted, were combined,—as the soul, body, and operation, were limited to form one man.

He denied atonement to be a vicarious sacrifice; and considered its virtue and efficacy as

consisting, not in any change of disposition in God towards man, for that must always be the same; but in the change which it wrought in the state of man, by removing from him the powers of hell and darkness, with which he was infested by transgression, and bringing near to him the divine powers of goodness and truth, in the person and spirit of Jesus, the God and Saviour; by which approximation the infirmities and corruptions of human nature might be wrought upon; and every believer thus placed in a state and capacity of arising out of the evils consequent on sin, by a real renewal of all the parts and principles of his life, both bodily and spiritual.

If some traces of resemblance to the Moravian doctrine may be here discovered, Swedenborg agreed with Hutchinson in believing that the sacred volume contained an internal and spiritual sense, to which the outward and literal sense serves as a basis; and he illustrated in various treatises, this doctrine of correspondences, which he states to have been lost ever since the days of Job.

He denied predestination, justification by faith only, and the resurrection of the material body: maintaining the free will and agency of man, the necessity of co-operation with grace, and the impossibility of obtaining salvation without repentance: while he held, that, im-

mediately after dissolution, man rises in a spiritual body, contained in his material frame. He inculcated the doctrine of man's communion with invisible beings; of the upright, with angels; of the depraved, with spirits of darkness. All Scriptural passages, describing the destruction of the world by fire, or painting the last judgment, are referred by him, agreeably to the sciences of correspondences, to the destruction of the existing Christian church, in the year 1757: from which date is to be reckoned the second advent of our Lord, and the commencement of a higher Christian church, described in the Revelations as the New Jerusalem; or as the new heaven, and a new earth.

The pretensions of Swedenborg and of many among his followers to visit heaven *ad libitum*, and to hold conversations with angels, may be placed on a level with the fancies of the madman in Horace;—

Fuit haud ignobilis Argis,
Qui se credebat miros audire tragædos,
In vacuo lætus sessor, plausorque theatro.

The notion of this mystic respecting the consolidation of the Trinity, has been already answered in our replies to the Unitarians and Moravians. It cannot solve the account of the transfiguration; nor those circumstances which

took place in the heavens at the baptism of Jesus by John; where the three Persons in the Godhead distinctly manifested themselves in their several and separate capacities. It is totally incompetent to explain the prayers offered by Christ to his Father, whom he often addresses, as "his Father who is in heaven." All these passages are at variance with the notion of that fulness of the Godhead united to the man Jesus, which would justify an exclusive worship offered to the Son.

To compare the Trinity, to body, soul, and operation, as uniting in one man, is to elucidate an incomprehensible mystery by comprehensible things; it is to confound Persons, and to divide the substance: the Father is God and the Son is God; but the body is not man, and the soul is not man. With regard to operation in man, as compared to the Holy Ghost, this destroys the Trinity, by making that third distinct Person lose his personality and become an influence.

Not less false are Swedenborg's ideas of atonement, as not pacifying an offended God, but fitting man for the reception of his mercy. They are contradicted by the whole system of Jewish sacrifices, which were types of Christ, our passover sacrificed for us, and the sprinkling of whose blood averts the wrath of God. In fact, "being by nature born in sin, we are

by nature the children of wrath;" and therefore, when we become children of grace by entrance into that new covenant which was sealed with the blood of Christ, a manifest change is wrought in the disposition of God towards us. As to the renewal of the powers of man, and the change in his moral dispositions, these certainly follow among the consequences of redemption; but its first effect is to propitiate an offended God, and to place sinners on a footing of acceptableness instead of condemnation. The mental renewal is the operation of the Spirit of God, seconded by human co-operation; his Spirit bearing witness with our spirits. (Romans, viii. 16.) But this is not co-extensive with the benefits of redemption; for all are redeemed, and might be saved; but they only are truly saved through lively faith, who embrace the gift of redemption.

On the fanciful and uncertain doctrine of correspondences, and on the errors to which it leads, we refer to what has already been advanced in reply to the Hutchinsonians.

By the Swendenborgians the Epistles are termed private letters, and their authority is denied in the canon of Scripture: but St. Peter positively asserts the Epistles of St. Paul to be Scriptural, even when he is warning the world against an improper use of some things contained in them, hard to be understood: "as

also in his epistles, which they that are unlearned wrest, as they do THE OTHER SCRIPTURES, to their own destruction." (2 Peter, xv. 16.) These Epistles were Scriptures, then, in the same sense as the Gospels were. Had they not been so, it would have better answered St. Peter's purpose, to have at once denied their inspiration.

— In the promise of the Comforter, who was to impart truths which could not, at the close of our Lord's brief ministry, be received by the weak minds of the disciples; who was to wean them from milk, to supply strong meat, and to guide unto all truth; Christ directly referred to the inspiration and the importance of the Apostolic teaching and writing; while he stamped the authority of the Epistles which his chosen Apostles should indite. (John, xvi. 12, 13. Hebrews, v. 14.)

In one passage, St. Paul says, "I speak as a man;" a man, whose unaided judgment confesses its fallibility. This, then, is a note of exception to his general speaking. His general speaking is to be understood in the sense of another passage: "Yet not I, but the Holy Ghost which is in me." (Romans, iii. 5. 1 Cor. xv. 10.)

But the doctrine which represents the day of judgment as a figure more than a fact; and the descriptions of the heavens passing away with a great noise, while the Son of Man

cometh in the clouds with power and great glory, as fulfilled in 1758 by the raving productions of Emmanuel Swedenborg, surpasses all the others in nonsense, presumption, and blasphemy.

It is not a fact that the present Christian church is at an end. It continues to this day. Do the disciples of Swedenborg recollect the passages, "Enter into the joy of your Lord:"—and, "Depart from me, ye cursed:"—"These shall go away into everlasting life;"—"but the wicked into eternal punishment?" How, then, can it be pretended that the day of fulfilment is already past? It is said in the Scriptures, that the second advent of our Lord shall not happen, until the knowledge of his religion cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea; but many parts of the earth are still in the darkness of paganism. It is again said, that one jot shall not pass, nor one tittle from the word of God, until all be fulfilled; but all is not fulfilled. There yet, therefore, *remaineth* a rest for the people of God; who thus have not yet entered, but *SEEK* a country: while to the wicked, there yet remaineth a certain fearful *looking for*—(so far are they from the preterition) of judgment. (Hab. ii. 14. Matt. v. 18. Heb. iv. 9. Heb. xi. 14; and xiii. 14. Heb. x. 27.)

CHAPTER XIX.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. TO THE YEAR 1800.

Contents.

- I. *Auspicious Termination of this History.*—II. *Proclamation for the Encouragement of Piety.*—III. *King's first Speech in Parliament to the same Effect.*—IV. *Policy with regard to the Catholics.*—V. *Archdeacon Blackburne's Works on Confessions of Faith.*—VI. *Association for Release from Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles.*—VII. *Reasons for the Rejection of the Petition to that Effect.*—VIII. *Unsuccessful Bill against dormant Claims of the Church.*—IX. *Bills relating to Subscription.*—X. *Socinians: Statement and Refutation of their Tenets.*—XI. *Indulgence to the Catholics in America and at Home.*—XII. *Similar Concessions made to Dissenters.*—XIII. *Alarm excited: Protestant Associations.*—XIV. *Lord G. Gordon's Mob.*—XV. *Infidel and immoral Writers: Chesterfield, Hume, Gibbon, Priestley.*—XVI. *Profanation of the Sabbath.*—XVII. *Sunday Schools: Mr. Raikes.*—XVIII. *Miss More and Blagdon Controversy.*—XIX. *Methodist Sunday Schools.*—XX. *Mrs. Trimmer and other Writers on Sabbath Education.*—XXI. *Episcopacy in America.*—XXII. *Corporation and Test Acts.*—XXIII. *New Proclamations respecting Piety and Morals.*—XXIV. *Slave Trade.*—XXV. *King's Illness and Recovery.*—XXVI. *Corporation and Test Acts.*—XXVII. *Lenity to Catholic Dissenters.*—XXVIII. *French Revolution: Exertions of the*

Clergy.—XXIX. *Corporation and Test Acts.*—XXX. *Heterogeneous Nature of the Dissenters.*—XXXI. *Price's Sermon and Burke's Reflections.*—XXXII. *Paine's Rights of Man.*—XXXIII. *Riots in Birmingham: Expatriation of Dr. Priestley.*—XXXIV. *Attempts of the Unitarians.*—XXXV. *London Corresponding Society, and Second Part of the Rights of Man.*—XXXVI. *French Emigrants.*—XXXVII. *Paine's Age of Reason and Bishop of Llandaff's Apology.*—XXXVIII. *Infidel Societies.*—XXXIX. *David Williams and Theophilanthropism.*—XL. *Bishop of London's Lectures: Hannah More's Cheap Repository, and other Labours of Zeal.*

I. AFTER pursuing the fortunes of our Church through a variety of reigns, and having beheld it sometimes basking in prosperity, sometimes suffering from the rapacity, the tyranny, the bigotry, the lukewarmness, the profligacy, or the heretical disposition of several sovereigns; it affords us a pleasure somewhat similar to that experienced from the drawing of a dramatic plot to a conclusion, to sum up the whole by presenting to the reader a monarch, the father of his people, the most amiable of men, the friend of true religion, and a pattern to all Christians*.

II. Almost the earliest act of this excellent sovereign's long reign (Oct. 31, 1760), was

* George III. on his coronation, on approaching to receive the Sacrament, voluntarily took off his crown, and the same night composed a prayer for the future prosperity of his reign.—Brady's *Clavis Calendaria*, vol. ii. p. 158.

the issuing of a royal proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for preventing and punishing vice, profaneness, and immorality; which is directed and continues to be read at the opening of the assizes and quarter sessions, as well as occasionally in parish churches. In this instrument he pledged himself, and recommended the aristocracy, to encourage and advance persons *distinguished* for piety and upright morals.

III. Soon after, a further pledge was delivered for the King's strong attachment to the interests of religion during his reign, in his first speech to Parliament, in which he stated his invariable resolution to adhere to, and to strengthen, the excellent constitution both in church and state. "The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects," added he, "are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown: and as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue." Many sovereigns have set forth with promises equally fair, and, perhaps, with intentions equally honest; but power and flattery have corrupted them as they advanced; they have forgotten those early pledges and principles of action, and their maiden speeches have sometimes proved a pointed satire on their government. But it

must needs have afforded our late beloved monarch the sweetest solace of old age, to reflect, after the lapse of half a century from the delivery of this promise, that he had uniformly and steadily adhered to it; unseduced to vice by the temptations of power, and unshaken in his purposes by the clamours of faction. We may here further observe, that such high acknowledgments of Providence correct the pride of those statesmen who arrogate all to human power; encourage the timid and pious to advance without dread of ridicule into the field of religious utility; establish Christianity as the standard of reference, by which the systems of philosophy and caprice of opinion are to be regulated; and finally conciliate the favour of the King of empires and great Controller of events.

IV. The differences between the High and Low Church party had greatly subsided with the cessation of the Bangorian controversy; but the Roman Catholics having, about 1765, attempted to advance their claims and revive their power in England, these oppositions in sentiment were *renewed*. In regard to the Catholics, it had been the wise policy of the reign of George III. to tolerate their mode of worship, but to remember their spirit, to watch their movements, and to limit concession by prudence.

V. Archdeacon Blackburne's Considerations on the present State of the Controversy between the Protestants and Papists of Great Britain and

Ireland, as introducing, in 1766, his celebrated work, "The Confessional; or, a full and free Inquiry into the Right, Utility, Edification, and Success of establishing systematical Confessions of Faith and Doctrine in Protestant Churches," are here deserving of notice. "No publication, since the days of Hoadly, produced a stronger sensation in the Church of England than this: a sensation which did not subside for many years; but, on the contrary, roused the slumbering pretensions of her less orthodox members *."

VI. Instigated by the warm representations of this Confessional, an association was formed at the Feathers tavern in London, A. D. 1772, by certain clergymen of the English Church, and several members of the professions of law and physic; whose object was relief from subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. A petition to this effect was framed by the society, and after receiving the signatures of two hundred and fifty of the clergy, presented to the House of Commons. Having first descanted on the blessings of the Reformation, in allowing men to deduce their faith by the use of their reason from the Scriptures, they complained that assent was demanded in the Thirty-nine Articles, to certain compositions of fallible men; and sought release from obligations, which they considered as utterly incongruous with the right

* Brewster's Secular Essay. Coote's Addition to Mosheim.

of private judgment. The clergy complained of subscription, as a hardship at the time of ordination; while the professors of law and medicine adverted to the bar it presented to matriculation in the two universities.

This petition was rejected in Parliament, by a large majority. On the side of the Church, it was insisted, that to the public teachers of the people, a restriction imposed by certain principles, from which they were not to deviate, was absolutely necessary; as was the establishment of some public symbol to which they should all assent; in order to prevent the disorder, the clashing, the endless confusion incidental to various opinions and interpretations. A simple assent to the Scriptures was stated to be inadequate to this purpose; since daily experience evinced that no two individuals would agree in their general construction of the inspired volume; and since the grossest absurdities, nay, blasphemies, have been at different times defended upon Scriptural authority, unfairly quoted. The clergy, it was wisely argued, suffered no injustice: they were under no necessity of accepting benefices contrary to their consciences; they knew the terms demanded previous to taking orders; and if their scruples arose after preferment had been bestowed upon them, they were able, as was their duty, to relinquish the emoluments of a church which they could no longer conscientiously serve. Every

citizen and freeman possessed the full liberty of interpreting Scripture for his own private use: the sectarist was further at liberty to circulate his peculiar views of Scripture; but it was just, that privileges and emoluments granted by the state should be confined to those who conformed to the doctrines which the state approved.

It is easy, in truth, to conceive, what perplexity would be occasioned to the people, if there were not some fixed interpretation amidst an hundred possible glosses, by which the clergy should pledge themselves to abide. In the same church, on the same day, they might be distracted by the contending dogmas of Tritheism and Socinianism; of Presbyterianism and Popery; of restricted and universal redemption. We may infer the contention and confusion which would prevail in the bosom of the Establishment, were all the clergy left to their own interpretation of the Scriptures, from observing the violent spirit of party which is occasioned by that latitude of interpretation of which the Articles themselves are supposed to be capable. From the contests of Arminians and Calvinists, we may judge of the fury which would result from admitting within the pale of the Establishment, all who denominate themselves Christians; and safely may it be averred, that such a measure, far from promoting peace, would engender the most inveterate hostilities.

VIII. A bill, of which the object was to secure the possessions of the subject against dormant claims of the Church, was soon after thrown out; the Legislature being of opinion, that, through a combination of rich farmers, accompanied by the quick succession of incumbents, the poorer clergy might be unable to defend their rights.

IX. A bill for the relief of dissenting ministers from assent to certain articles enjoined by the Acts of Toleration, suffered a like rejection. In 1773 and 1774, other attempts to obtain relief from matriculation and general tests were ventured on, but met with no better success than the former.

X. Disappointed in these efforts, which had been made under pretence of liberality, some of the petitioning clergy now developed their real motives. The Essex Street Chapel was opened by them as a temple of avowed Socinian worship; and Theophilus Lindsey, Dr. Disney, and some other beneficed clergymen, withdrew from their connexion with the Established Church *. Though, to relinquish preferments which they could no longer conscientiously hold, may reflect high honour on their principles, our praise must be much abated on considering the mixed views which had dictated

* See Dr. Clarke's Amendments in the Liturgy, in the British Museum; and Lindsey's Apology for resigning the Vicarage of Catterick.

their previous exertions to obtain latitude in subscription.

The two Socini, uncle and nephew, lived in Poland about the middle of the sixteenth century. The foundation of the sect is usually, however, ascribed to the latter. The Socinians flourished in Poland about the year 1561; and J. Siemienus, Palatine of Podolia, built a church purposely for their use. A catechism was published, entitled, *The Racovian Catechism*; and their ablest authors are distinguished by the name of *Polones Fratres*. Their writings were republished together, in the year 1656, in one great collection, consisting of six volumes, folio, under the title of the *Bibliotheca Fratrum*.

From Arianism to Socinianism, the gliding is as imperceptible and easy as from Socinianism to Deism on the same descent: Whiston, Chillingworth, Chubb, Morgan, and Kippis, were all originally Arians*. Priestley too, at first, endeavoured only to show that a belief in the Holy Trinity had no place in the creed of the early Christians, but was introduced by artifice and imposture, in repugnance to repeated declarations both of the Old and New Testament. Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, adopted these sentiments, but his zeal and increasing perplexities hastened his death. Priestley met, in the Arian stage of his progress, with an able opponent in Bishop Horsley, who, in his theological tracts,

* Adams's Religious World. Hannah Adams's View.

has fully exposed the erroneous foundation of the Unitarian system.

The main feature which distinguishes the Socinian from the Arian creed, is denial of the pre-existence of Christ. The Socinians further reject the doctrine of our Lord's atonement; affirming our Saviour to have been born into the world, only to deliver a pure system of morals; to die in confirmation of his mission; and, by rising again, to give assurance of a future state. The modern professors of Socinianism more daringly strike out from their system the notion of the miraculous conception, and consequently the worship of Christ, both of which their founder Socinus had inculcated; and they artfully prefer the name of Unitarians, which is sometimes applied to them in common with the Arian Christians. They deny original sin; they deny the inspiration of Scripture; they deny the personality of the Holy Ghost, whom they consider only in the light of an energy, or emanation, or *modus operandi* of the Deity; but they allow no spiritual influence on the soul. The sacraments they consider as simple ceremonies, unaccompanied by any inward operations. Most Unitarians still further reject the existence and agency of the devil, the spirituality and separate existence of the soul, an intermediate state between death and the resurrection, and the eternity of future

punishments. These latter tenets, however, are not necessary adjuncts of their system: and, together with the doctrines of necessity and materialism, which are generally embraced, and on which some of the others depend, have no more connexion, according to the expression of Mr. Belsham, with the Socinian creed, than with the mountains of the moon.

The Arian heresy having been already confuted at great length, we may presume upon having answered those more heterodox principles of Socinus, which relate to the antecedent existence of the blessed Messiah. For, if Christ be indeed co-equal with the Father, he must needs have pre-existence ascribed to him. The Molossian dog, therefore, which has hunted down the wolf, disdains a meaner prey. Let the Arian himself be left to answer the Socinian denial of Christ's pre-existent state, by quoting the Saviour's own expression,—“Before Abraham was, I am;” and his prayer to the Father,—“Glorify me with the glory which I had with thee, before the world was:” texts which, taken together, are wholly at variance with two Socinian quibbles; the first, that the creation by Christ is no more than a spiritual creation; “all things,” signifying all men: and the second, that “Before Abraham was, I am,” imports, simply, that, prior to the time of Abraham, Christ was appointed to be the Messiah. Let

him cite also the passages,—“ In the beginning was the Word, and all things were made by Him ;” John, i. 1, 3.—“ And no one hath ascended up into heaven but He, that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man,” &c.; John, iii. 13.—“ What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before ;” John, vi. 62.—“ Christ, though he was rich, yet for your sakes became poor ;” 2 Cor. viii. 9.—“ The mystery which from the beginning hath been hid with God, who created all things by Jesus Christ ;” Ephes. iii. 9.—“ His Son, by whom he made the worlds ;” Heb. i. 2.—“ His dear Son, the first born of every creature, by whom all things were created ;” Col. i. 15, 16.—“ Who being in the form of God, took upon him the form of man ;” Phil. ii. 5, 8*.

After having thus robbed Christ of his divinity and pre-existence, to reject his atonement was a natural consequence; although presumption might here tremble for the application of that awful text which denounces those “ who deny the Lord that bought them†.”

Dr. Priestley felt persuaded that the doctrine of atonement had no countenance either from

* Vide Magee, vol. i. p. 74, for an able reply to the Socinian interpretation of these and other texts.

† “ Profecto minime mirum est, si qui Christo gloriam naturalem, hoc est veri nominis Deitatem sustulerunt, iidem et officia ipsius imminuunt, & beneficia ipsius præcipua recusant agnoscere.” Grotius de Satisfactione Christi.

Scripture or from reason : that, from a full view of all religions, ancient and modern, they will be found destitute of any thing like the doctrine of a proper atonement ; and further, that, considering that doctrine in a practical view, the belief and influence of it are unfavourable to virtue and morals. On all these points we are at issue with this daring and superficial theologian.

1. That the doctrine of atonement is founded in reason, must be evident to any one who considers what would be the natural conclusions of enlightened reason, when reflecting on the nature of man and the attributes of God.

For, let it be considered that man, wayward from his infancy, daily trespassing in deed, word, and imagination, and thus covered with an accumulation of transgression, has to deal with a God, omniscient, who has witnessed even from his infancy all his words, deeds, and imaginations ; holy, whom the smallest stain of iniquity offends ; and just, whose laws cannot be infringed without exposure to that punishment which even the stings of natural conscience forebode. Will it be said that he is merciful, and that his mercy of itself will dictate forgiveness ? We answer, no one attribute of the divine nature ought to be conceived as swallowing up another.

“ A God all mercy is a God unjust.”

Or will it be urged, that the contrition and repentance of a sinner are of themselves suffi-

ciently efficacious, as an atonement for his past guilt? This were to place HIM who had swerved but slightly from virtue, on a level with the daring profligate of years, who breathes forth one last sigh of repentance: it were thus to contradict every notion of the divine equity. But present services will no more obliterate former disobedience, than the present payment of ready money for what we purchase, will cancel a past debt. Obedience is our duty at all times. How then can present repentance release us from past sins? Does it create a surplusage of merit, reducing, retrospectively, past demerit? "We may as well affirm," says a learned divine, "that former obedience atones for present sin, as that present obedience atones for antecedent transgression." Nay, were it otherwise, could the Deity be supposed to enter into the compact with man, "Serve me unerringly in all things in time to come, and the past I will remember no more?" Where is the man who could promise himself such undeviating obedience? Would not the language of every reflecting and anticipating individual be expressly the language which inspiration assigns to David: "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord! for in thy sight shall no man living be justified?" Psalm cxliii. 2.

On the whole, then, it is evident, that, on the principles of natural reason, no man could stand

before his Maker, in judgment, on the strength of his own merits exclusively. Hence some atonement is necessary ; something to stand between God (vested in the light of omniscience, the glory of purity, and in the terrors of justice), and man, wayward and guilty.

It has been asked, indeed, what connexion subsists, in reason, betwixt the sufferings of one person, and the forgiveness of another? And Bishop Magee has well answered, “ As much connexion, at least, as exists betwixt the obedience of any individual at a late period of life, and the pardon of the same individual for sins committed at an earlier.” In the one case, God barter pardon and eternal life for the paltry remains of an obedience, itself blotted and sinful: in the other, for the blood of his Son. Which is the higher price? Which is the price most adequate in reason? Which is the bargain most worthy of the Deity?

It has also been objected, that the scheme of redemption is circuitous, and might be better accomplished by a declaration of pardon, to be vouchsafed on repentance and amendment. This is to dictate to the Almighty how he shall save the world. Is not the process of making bread circuitous, from the seed to the mill, and to the oven? To please such objectors, manna ought to be rained down from heaven. So the human race might be created perfect at once;

but the woman travails nine months with her burden, and produces a speechless infant long inefficient to society. So likewise the afflicted might be relieved at once; but they are left to the slow and precarious process of benevolence.

Again.—Reason is stated to be at variance with the plan of redemption on the score of the divine immutability. If God wills to pardon men on repentance, he will grant it without a mediator; and if not, a mediator cannot influence him, unless by impeaching his immutability. By this argument, in its extent, both prayer and repentance are idle; for these, too, are hypothetically supposed to influence the divine will.

Others cannot believe the nature of God so implacable, as to have required the prodigious ransom of his Son's crucifixion for the human race. But it is an error to suppose that the death of Christ MADE the divine nature placable: it being only the appointed means through which God being determined to be placable, extended mercy to mankind. "God so LOVED the world as to have GIVEN his only begotten Son." Herein is love, that God first loved us, and gave his Son. John, iii. 16. 1 John, iv. 10. Where, then, is the charge of implacability?

2. The doctrine of atonement being thus proved not to be adverse to reason, but perfectly consistent with it; we are in pain to be obliged to

superinduce the authority of Scripture, since no one but a determined garbler of Scripture could call in question a proof so obvious in detached passages, and in the general scope of the sacred volume.

What can be more explicit than Hebrews, ix. 22: "Without shedding of blood there is no remission?" In this text reference is made to a passage in Leviticus (xvii. 11), "The life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make atonement for the soul." And from both we may conclude, that all the sacrifices and propitiations of the law were pre-figurations of that one, full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, satisfaction, and oblation for the sins of the whole world, offered up on Calvary. This is the system of types, so obvious in Scripture, and so continually alluded to in the New Testament. Thus, the paschal lamb is declared, 1 Cor. v. 7, to be typical of that event, whereby those are passed over uncondemned who are sprinkled with the blood of Christ. "Christ, our passover, is sacrificed for us." Thus (John, iii. 14, 15), "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

On the general doctrine of *atonement*, as contained in SCRIPTURE, we may quote the passages, Isaiah, liii. 10: "Thou shalt make his soul an

offering for sin." Dan. ix. 24, 26: "Seventy weeks are determined to finish the transgression, to make an end of sin, and to make reconciliation for iniquity; and after these, the Messiah shall be cut off, but not for himself." Matt. xx. 28: "The Son of Man came to give his life a ransom for many." John, vi. 51: "My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." Luke, xix. 6: "This is my body which is given for you." 1 John, ii. 2; and Rom. iii. 25: "He is the propitiation for our sins." 1 Cor. xv. 3: "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures." Ephes. i. 7: "Redemption through his blood; the forgiveness of sins *."

3. That a view of religions, ancient and modern, does not discover any thing like the doctrine of a proper atonement, is the next Socinian proposition to be controverted. We have just now adverted to the whole system of Jewish sacrifices, with the references to them in the New Testament. And here it is important to remark, with Bishop Magee †, that an erroneous practice has prevailed, of *first* examining the nature of sacrifice, as generally understood, antecedent to the death of Christ; and from that, explaining the sacrifice of Christ: whereas, in

* See Magee, vol. i. p. 222, for the passages representing the death of Christ as a sacrifice: the direct meaning of all which passages must be refined away before the doctrine they establish can be impugned.

† On the Atonement, vol. i. p. 42.

fact, by THIS all former sacrifices are to be interpreted ; and with reference to it only, can they be understood. Hence have arisen various errors : for, while some have attributed the universal practice of sacrifice to a superstitious fear of an imagined sanguinary divinity, others have accounted for the Jewish sacrifices, and even that of Christ, as a mere accommodation to prevailing practice. Spencer, Sikes, and Warburton, have severally considered sacrifices as propitiatory gifts, federal rites and actions, symbolical of the death which a contrite offender owns himself to have incurred. But Magee represents the sacrifice of Abel as at variance with all these notions : its acceptance being grounded on faith (Heb. xi. 4) : faith, of which the criterion was animal sacrifice ; and the object, the promise of a Redeemer. In truth, immediately after the sin of Adam, the first discoveries of grace implied something of an atonement : “ It shall bruise thy head ; and thou shalt bruise his heel,” said God to the serpent, concerning the seed of Adam. But if Christ be set forth as an expiation and sacrifice in the New Testament (Heb. x. 12) ; and if the Jewish sacrifices are types of that expiation, “ shadows of things to come, the body being of Christ” (Col. ii. 17) ; it matters not what corrupt notions respecting sacrifices had crept into the Jewish faith. The obvious inference would be, that sacrifices were

originally understood by the Jews, as God intended them to be understood, in the light of expiations *.

And if this were the case with the sacrifices of the law, it may safely be asserted concerning sacrifices from the beginning, concerning those of Abel, Noah, and Abraham. There is no obvious connexion between the blood of an animal and atonement for sin; and therefore the general prevalence of sacrifice evinced that it was a rite taught to ALL people by God, with no other view than to prefigure the great sacrifice. That expiatory sacrifice existed among the Arabians in the time of Job is certain, since God prescribes sacrifice to the friends of that Patriarch; and Job himself (i. 5) offers a burnt-offering for his sons, lest they should have sinned. And that its universal prevalence in the heathen world was the result of an original divine appointment, seems manifest for the reason just now assigned; its want of obvious connexion with atonement. It matters not, then, with what superstitious or inadequate notions it came, in process of time, to be mixed. God designing it as prefiguring the great expiatory sacrifice, imparted it with notions of expiation.

4. That the influence of the doctrine of

* The scape-goat was a transference of the sins of the people to the head of the goat, and it was the continuation of a sacrifice.

atonement is unfavourable to virtue and morals, is the last objection urged by Dr. Priestley.

And here it is necessary to draw a distinction between the efficient meritorious cause, and the **CONDITION** of our salvation. The meritorious cause is the cross of Christ; for "he is the way, and the truth, and the life; and no man cometh unto the Father but by him" (John, xiv. 6); but the condition is holiness of living, without which no man shall see God: for, though no exertions of ours could achieve immortal felicity, the benefits of our Redeemer's death will not be extended to us individually, without our repentance and walking in newness of life. The moral law, therefore, being still in force, is there not a grace added to the Christian virtues, a polish to the corner-stone of the edifice, in that humility which, on every moral offering it lays upon the altar, inscribes the words, unprofitable servant; and which disavowing all personal worthiness even in the best estate of obedience, reclines upon the Saviour alone for salvation? And will no dread of sin be excited by the recollection that God abhors it so utterly, as not to have spared his own ever blessed Son, for the satisfaction of his justice and the conciliation of his mercy? And will no earnestness of obedience be elicited by the sentiments of gratitude which flow towards God in return for so unspeakable a gift? Nay, if, in natural religion,

the moral exertions might be apt to relax through consciousness of their inability to perform a perfect or acceptable service; will not that very consciousness be cheered into persevering obedience by knowing that imperfections will be blotted out in redeeming blood?

Referring the inquirer concerning the divinity of Christ, to our strictures on the Arian heresy, we proceed to the Socinian denial of the *miraculous conception*, and refusal of WORSHIP TO CHRIST. To the *miraculous conception*, it is not difficult to discover the reason of the antipathy entertained by this heretical body: for a mere moral teacher might have been born without a miracle; but he who comes into the world miraculously conceived must have come on some higher errand*, to which a mere man was unequal. They perceive that this doctrine naturally brings after it the doctrines of incarnation and atonement. To allow the miraculous conception of Christ, would likewise be to allow his divinity: an inference, indeed, expressly stated by St. Luke, "The holy thing to be born of thee shall be called the Son of God †." And the reason, says Bishop Pearson ‡, is clear, because

* Horsley, Tracts.—Heber, Bampton Lectures on the Comforter.

† Luke, i. 30.

‡ Expos. of the Creed, article 2. Burnet, Hey, Tomline, and the Articles.

that the Holy Ghost is God; for, were he any creature, and not God himself, Christ must have been the son of a creature, not of God.

Now, since God promised (Gen. iii. 15), that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, it was necessary that he should be born of a virgin, that so he might not be the seed of *man*, as all other men are. Isaiah foretold, in a corroboratory prophecy, that a virgin should conceive and bear a son, and should call his name Immanuel (Isa. ch. vii. ver. 14); that is, as St. Matthew, i. 23, interprets it, God with us: and this Evangelist writes, that when Mary was espoused unto Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost; adding, that Joseph knew not Mary until she had brought forth her first-born son, and he called his name Jesus; Matt. i. 18, 25. In the Annunciation, as related by St. Luke, i. 27, 35, the angel Gabriel salutes the Virgin Mary, acquainting her that the Holy Ghost should come upon her, and that the power of the Highest should overshadow her. And when Joseph, finding her pregnant, was minded to put her away, the angel of the Lord commands him not to fear to take unto him Mary his wife, since that which was conceived by her was of the Holy Ghost. (Matt. chap. i.) And thus, when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth

his Son, made of a woman, made under the law. (Galat. iv. 4*.)

In point of authority, we add that Justin Martyr¹, Origen², Tertullian³, St. Cyprian⁴, Igna-

* Now, in adverting to these passages, the Socinians, to be sure, would not, irreverently, venture the explanation hinted at by that vulgar and disgusting monster of infidelity, Paine, and re-babbled by his pitiful idolater, Carlile. I cite the expression with trembling, as a fair specimen of that calm discussion and diffident inquiry after truth, boasted by the devout Deist of the Temple of Reason: "The story is blasphemously obscene; being an account of a young woman engaged to be married, and, while under that engagement, debauched by a ghost; notwithstanding which, Joseph marries her, and rivals the ghost." What can be the unprejudiced spirit, the mental purity, or the Deistical piety of a man capable of inditing such a paragraph, I leave others to determine; but I will remind its admirers, that, should they chance to be mistaken, and should the Bible be found to speak truth, it contains a hand-writing against them which no silence on the subject, no candour, no dexterity can obliterate; for, "All manner of sins shall be forgiven unto men; but the sin against the Holy Ghost, that shall not be forgiven." But the Socinians would not dare to adopt this horrid supposition; they well know, indeed, "that a virgin conceiving," signifies, according to the Prophet, still continuing a virgin. How then do they face the Scriptural proofs? Nothing more easy, as we shall immediately see. Scripture, they say, is not inspired, and contains many errors. We understand not the miraculous conception, and therefore out it goes. And if this, why not, by one sweeping dash, expunge all the other miracles along with it?

¹ Apolog. 1. cap. 38.

² Contra Celsum, l. iii. p. 135.

³ Advers. Gentes, c. 31.

⁴ De Idol.

tius¹, Irenæus², Cyril of Jerusalem³, Ambrose⁴, Lactantius⁵, Hilary⁶, Basil⁷, Augustine⁸, and many others, assert the miraculous conception of Christ.

In offering worship to Christ, yet denying his perfect divinity, the Arians involved themselves in the charge of idolatry. The Socinians, in *denying him worship*, though more blasphemous, have certainly been more consistent. His worthiness of being worshipped, indeed, is a direct consequence of his divinity: and the proofs of his divinity we have already multiplied in speaking of the Arian controversy (Vol. III. p. 137). The conjunction, but not the confusion, of the divine and human natures in Christ, is termed the hypostatic union; but THAT is sometimes predicated or spoken concerning one of these natures, which is only proper to the other. Thus, God is said to have shed his blood, Acts, xx. 28; and the man Christ Jesus is proposed to be worshipped by the angels, Heb. i. 6. But if Christ (though not as man) ought to be worshipped by angels, then, *à fortiori*, he ought to be worshipped by men, lower than the angels. Every where, indeed, the worship due to Christ is inferred from the premises of his divinity: and

¹ In Theod. Dial. Immutab.

² Lib. iii. c. 29, p. 258.

³ Cat. xii. p. 155 & 164.

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 59.

⁵ Inst. lib. iv: cap. 12.

⁶ De Trin. lib. 16.

⁷ Hom. 25, vol. ii. p. 507.

⁸ Vol. iv. p. 536.

while other beings disclaim worship, because they are not divine, to him, as alone divine, worship is pre-eminently ascribed. When the people of Lystra offered sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas, as to divine personages, they rent their clothes, and cried out in extreme anxiety, "Sirs, why do ye these things? we are *men* of like passions with you." Acts, xiv. 15. In the same manner, when St. John fell at the feet of the angel to worship him, he replied, "See thou do it not; I am thy fellow servant, having the testimony of Jesus: worship God." Revel. xix. 10; and again, Revel. xxii. 9. Once more: when Cornelius fell before Peter to worship him, "Stand up," said Peter; "I myself, also, am a *man*." Acts, x. 26. Thus careful were the Apostles and Angels, being inferior beings, to deprecate all worship offered to themselves. But does Christ rebuke Thomas, when, on conviction, he calls him, "my Lord, and my God;" John, xx. 28; or the leper, who being healed, fell on his face, giving him thanks, which he himself calls, giving glory to God, Luke, xvii. 16, 18; or the blind man, who having been restored to sight, believed, and falling down, worshipped him, John, ix. 38; or St. John, when he fell as dead at the feet of Him who declared himself to be the first and the last, Revel. i. 17?

Scripture, indeed, abounds with examples of worship offered, or directed to be offered, to

Christ. Did not the wise men come to worship Christ, Matt. xxii. Compare Rev. i. 18, "I am He that liveth and am alive for ever," with Rev. iv. 10, "The elders worship Him that liveth for ever and ever." Stephen was stoned, calling upon God, and saying, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit:" the same expression addressed by Christ himself, in his human capacity, to his Father, at the like moment of departure. In Philippians, ii. 9, 10, we read, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and in earth, and under the earth. Compare also Rom. xiv. 11, "As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess to God;" with John, v. 23, "That all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father." In fine, if whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord Jesus shall be saved, Rom. x. 13, and 1 Cor. i. 2; if Christ be the object in whom the Gentiles are to trust; if Paul besought the Lord, 2 Cor. xii. 8—(but the pen is weary of proofs); then only daring presumption (for the plea of ignorance must not here be admitted) can deny that Christ is to be worshipped*.

* Some have attempted, it is true, to distinguish between supreme and subordinate worship. This is an Arian rather than a Socinian argument: for the Socinians admit of no worship whatever. Yet we will just observe, that all the instances of worship offered to Christ, above quoted, are those of prayer, praise, exclusive confidence: the highest acts of worship, and

The Socinians next dismiss from their creed ORIGINAL SIN; and this necessarily accompanies their rejection of atonement. For, if we had, indeed, only actual sins to be forgiven, infants, ere the committal of any such sins, might die in a state of innocence; and Christ would not be that universal Saviour he is represented to be, 1 John, ii. 2; Acts, iv. 12; 1 John, v. 11, 12; John, i. 29: nor would the Scripture have concluded ALL under sin, Galat. iii. 22. On Scriptural grounds, the death of infants would have been unjust; for, by one man's disobedience sin entered into the world, and death BY sin. On as many as had not ACTUALLY sinned, then, death ought to have had no power. The doctrine of *original sin* has been fully demonstrated to be founded in reason and Scripture, in the early part of this work, when the Pelagian heresy was under review. To our first volume, p. 17, &c. we accordingly now refer; repeating, that original sin constitutes the incommunicable prerogative of God. If Christ be an inferior being, they cannot be addressed to him, therefore, without blasphemy and polytheism. But they are directed to be addressed to him; therefore, Christ is no inferior being; and is to receive SUPREME worship. Farther, we find in Deut. vi. 4, that the "Lord our God is one Lord:" and in Matthew, iv. 10, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." But we are called upon to worship Christ; and as there cannot be two objects of worship, Christ is to be worshipped as God, one with the Father. There is, therefore, no such thing as subordinate worship.

sists not in merely being punished for Adam's transgression, but in the inheritance of a taint of evil derived from Adam as a corrupted stock; which, being the principle and germ of actual sin, exposes the inheritor of it to punishment. It were to go over the same ground again, to prove that the existence of this native depravity is supported by experience, was known to the heathens and the Jews, and was acknowledged by the primitive Christians. But we cannot help recurring to a few Scriptural texts illustrative of the doctrine in question, which we will leave with all the others advanced in our first volume, to the quibbling comments and distortions of Unitarianism. "I know that in me dwelleth no good thing." (Rom. vii. 18.) "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." (Gen. viii. 21.) "The heart is deceitful above all things." (Jer. xvii. 9.) That this innate corruption is hereditary, we prove from Job, iv. 4: "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?" and from Psalm li. 5: "Behold I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me." And Scripture thus traces it up to its first origin, Rom. v. 12: "By one man's disobedience sin entered into the world: and judgment has passed on all men for the offence of one," Rom. v. 18. This is the cause of death to all, even to infants, who have not actually sinned, Rom. v. 12 and 14. That this taint is followed by a lia-

bility to punishment, is shown in Rom. v. 18: "By the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation;" and in Ephes. ii. 3: "We are by nature the children of wrath." We have already, at great length, vindicated the divine attributes in regard to this doctrine. As to testimonies: from Clement, ch. xvii.; Irenæus, adv. Hæres. l. iv. c. 39, and l. v. c. 16; St. Cyprian, Test. ad Quirin. l. iii. c. 34; and Epist. 64; we find the sense of the early fathers relative to so fundamental an article of faith*.

As the miraculous conception, and other doctrines, are too strongly supported by the sacred writings to be explained away; the Socinians lay their axe to the root of the tree, and strike a blow at the *inspiration of Scripture itself*. And how, with any other help than their effrontery and a pair of scissars, they can get over the plain statement, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God," 2 Tim. iii. 16, they have never yet thought proper to acquaint us. Perhaps it will be urged, that they deny the inspiration even of this very assertion; and pretend that St. Paul was deceived. But at this rate there is not

* Vide Pearson on the Creed, Art. iii. p. 167; Nowell's Catech. p. 53, 54; Homilies of the Nativity and Passion; Wall's Hist. of Infant Baptism, p. i. c. 19; Prideaux Fasc. Controv. c. iii. q. 3; Jewell's Apol. part c. xi. div. 3; Field of the Church, b. iii. c. 26.

any thing that can be firmly believed; and their Christianity is no better than Deism. All other sects indeed are truly Christians; because they appeal to Scripture, however they may distort its texts, in proof of their several opinions. But can the Socinians be rightly denominated Christians, seeing they question the authenticity of that sacred volume itself, which contains the articles of their creed? With respect to the Old Testament, we know it to have been of divine inspiration: for, not only is this confessed by the Jews, the enemies of Revelation, to whom its books were intrusted; not only is this guaranteed by prophecies which were subsequently fulfilled, and by types realized in Christ; but our Saviour himself, whom the Socinians will admit as a competent witness, refers to the Old Testament as of allowed and undoubted inspiration: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil: for, verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth shall pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." Matt. v. 17, 18. "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me. Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me." John, v. 39—46. Here we find that the inspiration of the law extends to jots and tittles. So, also, in the parable of

Dives and Lazarus, the infallibility of Moses and the Prophets is assumed, when it is said, that if these are not believed, a miracle would be wrought in vain.

The inspiration of the New Testament is evident from the authority of the Old: for the law was a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ; that we might be justified through FAITH. Now, if it hath pleased the Almighty to set our eternal welfare on the stake of lively faith in Revelation, it is inconsistent with his wisdom, justice, and goodness, to suppose that he would leave the information to be believed in, a matter of uncertainty; as it would be, were it communicated through the medium of treacherous memories, imperfect comprehensions, and fallible judgments. To correct these, illumination is necessary; for God, in demanding firm belief, must establish incontestable realities. Again, a revelation from heaven supposes preternatural illumination and information in those persons who communicate it: where this is wanting, there is no revelation: where this information is denied, the Christian religion is not revealed; and Socinianism is natural religion, or Deism.

See also the following proofs of identity on the footing of truth, in the Old and the New Testaments: "Now the righteousness of God is witnessed by the Law and the Prophets." Rom. iii. 21. The revelation of the mystery is

made manifest by the Scriptures of the Prophets, made known to ALL NATIONS, for the obedience of faith.

Ignatius (ad Philad.), Theophilus (ad Autol.), Irenæus (adv. Hæres.), and Justin Martyr (Apol. 1. c. 35), all speak of the Prophets as preaching the Gospel; and thus suppose an equal certainty at least, in the writers of the Gospel itself.

In general, the inspiration of the Scripture is allowed to be sufficiently proved by the spirituality of its subject matter; the grandeur of its design; the majesty and simplicity of its style, which poetry and eloquence are continually quoting as adornments brighter than human invention could devise; the harmony of its various parts; their mutual adaptation and correspondences; their efficacy on the human race; the candour, sense, disinterestedness, and integrity of the penmen; the prophecies fulfilled, and the miracles attested in support of the doctrines they contain. The establishment of a distinction has, it is true, been attempted between superintending and plenary inspiration; the former being regarded as only a partial preservation from error: but we must not give up the cause of *plenary* inspiration, if not as to the express words of Scripture, at least as to the subject matter. There are, indeed, many facts contained in the sacred writings, which the

penmen might have known, and probably did know, by ordinary means, as men endowed with sight, hearing, memory, and judgment. Their faculties MIGHT likewise enable them to make such reflections as were suggested by circumstances or events; but even in these cases such an inspiration must be admitted as should secure them from the remotest possibility of error. Even in regard, therefore, to those narrations of historical facts, and to those common reflections and remarks, which might have proceeded from ability not unusually inspired, the authenticity is greater, and the credence ought to be more implicit, than the most accurate profane history or the closest chain of common reasoning can pretend to.

The promise made by Christ, of the Holy Ghost to the Apostles, contained in St. John, xiv. 26, "He shall bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you," "proves," says Mr. Dick, "that in writing their histories, their mental powers were endowed, by his agency, with more than usual vigour." Thus, as St. John wrote his history, several years after the ascension of Christ (twenty-eight years according to Percy), inspired guidance was necessary, for the refreshment of memory, for the selection of facts, and for the prevention of errors in language. In a matter wherein salvation is set upon the stake of belief, it is absurd,

as well as impious, to suppose that God, wise, just, and good, would leave any uncertainty in the documents*.

More eminently, in regard to those Scriptural subjects, which transcend the faculties of man, must divine inspiration be acknowledged; in regard to prophetic annunciations, and mysteries which eye hath not seen, or ear heard; particularly to every thing connected with the Messiah and the Holy Spirit.

For this spiritual guidance, the word adopted by Scripture itself, is Revelation. "The last book of the New Testament, which is a collection of prophecies, is called the Revelation of Jesus Christ. Paul says, that he received the Gospel by revelation: that by revelation the mystery was made known to him, which in other ages was not made known to the sons of men, as it was then revealed unto his holy Apostles and Prophets by the Spirit. And in another place, having observed that eye had not seen, nor ear heard, nor heart conceived what God had prepared for them that love him,

* Dick's Essay on the Inspiration of the Scriptures; Appendix to Doddridge's Expositor, vol. iii.; Gray's Key to the Old Testament; Percy's Key to the New ditto; Jones's Canon of Scripture; Calamy on Inspiration; Bishop Watson's Apology for the Bible; Paley's Evidences; Account of Hampton Court Conference; Stennett on the Authority and Use of Scripture.

he adds, 'But God hath revealed them to us, by his Spirit.' Rev. i. 1; Gal. i. 12; Ephes. ii. 5; 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10*."

To say with Dr. Priestley, that the Apostles committed mistakes, both in their narrations and in their reasonings, is to suppose our Lord and his Apostles to have attested certain works as inspired records, which were in part human compositions; to imagine the writers of the Old and New Testaments to have superadded to the dictates of the Spirit some inventions of their own, and passed the compound on the world as being all the result of genuine inspiration. How then should men know when to rely on such jugglers, and when to distrust them? Their inventions would impeach the character of the whole; and men would be called on to BELIEVE, if they would be saved, without knowing what to believe. Reason then, would be the ultimate judge, as to what was revelation and what was human fancy; but different men would form different judgments; endless disputes and uncertainty would prevail; and the object of revelation, which was to supply that wherein reason is defective and fallible, would be frustrated.

If the inspiration of Scripture be admitted, in regard to the subject matter, it may seem of

* Dick on Inspiration.

inferior moment to contend for the inspiration of the words; but if it be considered that mistakes in expression might often alter the substance of the communication, and that unlearned writers might debase noble sentiments by defective phraseology; that Christ promised to his disciples, a Spirit who should give them, in the hour of their pleading, what they should speak (Matt. x. 19, 20; Luke, xii. 11, 12); that St. Paul declares himself and the other Apostles to have spoken, “not in the words which man’s wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost taught” (1 Cor. ii. 13); a declaration, which may apply to their writings as well as to their discourses; we shall believe the language of Scripture to proceed immediately from God as well as the subject matter. The possibility of inaccuracy would have created suspicion of error; and fallible reason would have been called in to decide upon revelation. God, staking salvation upon belief, would be careful to transmit his truths, through a channel in which they should be quite secure from pollution. And should any one object that the style is not uniform; we reply, that the Holy Ghost might act with different degrees of influence on distinct agents. In fine, with regard to both matter and style, the meanness of the writers, on Socinian principles, ought to be a sufficient evidence of inspiration: for God would have chosen men of abilities and

literature as the scribes, had he designed to leave them to their unaided powers.

In regard to the objections to the inspiration of the sacred volume, their weakness is sufficiently exposed by their trivial nature. "One evangelist makes the cock crow twice, and another once:" as if two cock-crowings did not include one. St. Matthew makes a mother ask a favour for her sons: St. Mark says, the sons and the mother asked it jointly: as if the sons might not kneel while the mother preferred the petition. To all such pettyfogging, special pleading cavils, the remark of Paley is applicable: that general coincidence and unimportant diversity is accepted even in a human court of justice as the strongest testimony. Minute agreement would excite suspicion of collusion. While, therefore, there is no contradiction, such minor differences, while they establish the authenticity of Scripture, impeach not its inspiration*. Again: The Pentateuch is falsely called the work of Moses, because the death of Moses is recorded in it. But consult Bishop Watson's valuable Apology for the Bible, in which a distinction is drawn between genuineness and authenticity; showing that a book may be authentic, that is, may relate true facts; though not genuine, that is, not wholly the work of the person whose name is at

* Paley's Evidences; Cooper's Four hundred Texts explained.

the head of it. But may not Moses be the genuine author up to that part where he could not any longer be the author? while a rider may have been attached to the papyrus by Joshua, stating the author's death? Is not this done every day? Do we not see it done in the Epistles, where a note is always annexed: "Written from Rome?" &c. &c.

Beside me, at this moment, lies the posthumous book, entitled, *Sermons and Extracts on the Loss of Friends*, compiled by the late Miss Grant. It is said, in the beginning, that the author died previous to the publication: but does this render it less certain that the book was hers? It is not, however, our purpose here to enter into the question of authenticity, excepting so far as authenticity is connected with inspiration.

It has been asserted, that in the New Testament (for where the Jews were so careful as preservers and transcribers, this argument has not been ventured with reference to the Old), interpolations, alterations, additions, and erasures, have stolen in; but the earliest Fathers, even up to contemporaneousness with the Apostles, quote the Bible as it is now printed; besides which, the variety of Christian sects which appeared immediately after our Saviour's death, would be on the watch to prevent each other from introducing into the sacred books faults

of inadvertence, or errors favourable to particular opinions.

In order to impugn the inspiration of Scripture, a solitary passage, in which St. Paul adds to his judgment, the phrase, "I speak as a man," has been much insisted on. But not to mention that this short expression admits of some other interpretations besides that of his being unaided in his opinion, we affirm, that, admitting this latter meaning, we do not see how a stronger proof could be given of inspiration in the general text of Scripture, than so particular a note set thus upon one sentence, as the fruit of human judgment only. Would you deny Southey's *Thalaba* to be a poem, because there is no poetry in his notes? Would you deny St. Paul to be inspired, because he has put a *nota bene* to one clause of a sentence, cautioning you that that alone is not inspired? This expression of St. Paul's, so far from raising a doubt of inspiration in Scripture, should set the question at rest for ever. It should lead us to conclude every syllable of the Bible to be inspired where such an asterisk does not occur.

An artful attempt has been made by the Socinian underminers of truth to compress the ministry of our Lord within a single year. Who does not see the drift of this trick?—It is to shake the credibility of the marvellous facts, by making it appear that the accounts of them

were no better than rumours of strange stories, dispersed among illiterate superstitious people, and believed before time could be afforded for investigation by the wise. Could they support their impudent assertion, it would, after all, serve them in little stead for the establishment of their inference, among any other, at least, than their own demi-deistical sect: for all the mental biases, all the superstitions of the Jewish people, were AGAINST the miracles, by being against the mission of our Lord; particularly in the vicinity of his own country, where a prophet has no honour. (Matt. xiii. 57.) That people were fools and slow of belief. (Luke, xxiv. 25.) Moreover, many of the miracles were wrought in Jerusalem; "not in a corner" (Acts, xxvi. 26), as a bold appeal reminded his enemies, but in full day; in the midst of learned scribes, interested chief priests, and inveterate enemies; and when all the multitudes of Palestine were crowded together in the metropolis at a public feast. And did not these men manifest a consciousness that further investigation would be their ruin, by saying, If we let him alone, all the world will believe on him (John, xi. 28); and still further, by putting him to the silence and inoperativeness of death? So that, even were the ministry of our Lord confined within twelve months, his miracles would be substantiated beyond the shadow of a doubt.

But any man who reads Dr. White's Diatesaron, or Dr. Macknight's Harmony, or the learned work of Lightfoot, will be convinced that the events of our Lord's ministry, as recorded by the Evangelists, cannot possibly have occupied less space than four passovers, or three years and a half from his baptism by John in Jordan. Our Lord, after his baptism and temptation, and the miracle of Cana, kept the first passover. (John, ii. 13.) After returning unto Galilee, he came back to keep the second passover, when the miracle was wrought at Bethesda. (John, v. 1.) Then he traversed the sea of Galilee (John, vi. 1); and the third passover occurs. (John, vi. 4.) He next went secretly (John, vii. 10), to keep at Jerusalem the feast of tabernacles (John, vii. 2), which happened in September; and afterward, in December, the feast of dedication. (John, x. 22.) He is then found beyond Jordan, at Bethany, and in Ephraim, until the period of the fourth passover. (John, xi. 55.)

In this chronology, St. John distinctly specifies four passovers from the first miracle in Cana; that is, to the crucifixion, three passovers, and a feast. Now, as the Jews had only three solemn annual feasts, and St. John elsewhere specifies the two lesser ones, we conclude that this feast was also a passover; and the conclusion reconciles itself with the testi-

mony of Eusebius *, who dates the baptism of Christ in the fifteenth, and his death in the nineteenth year of Tiberius: a chronology supported by Phlegon and Dion †.

Some Socinians have attempted to simplify, alias to mutilate their faith, by confining it to the four Gospels, as containing all things necessary to be believed; while they assert the Epistles to have reference only to the times when they were written, and to the churches unto which they were addressed. The hypothesis, if it were admitted, would stand them in no stead, as far as relates to the doctrines of the divinity and pre-existence of Christ, which are as distinctly set forth in the Gospels as in the Epistles. And as to other points, it is clear that our Lord, at the time of his ascension, did not consider the information, communicated by himself, as complete; but referred to more explicit ulterior intelligence under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. “I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you unto all truth ‡.”

Baffled in their aims at narrowing the period of miraculous agency, and the number of things to be believed, the last blow of Socinianism against

* Euseb. Chron. Tertull. adv. Jud. c. 8.

† Lib. lviii. p. 732.

‡ John, xvi. 12, 13.

the authenticity of Scripture consists in the endeavour to reduce the number of the witnesses. Three out of the four Evangelists are said to have copied from each other, or from some common original. I know not if I state this cavil quite correctly; but could it be established, it would prove but of little service in shaking the certainty of the facts recorded. The excellent principle laid down by Paley, namely, that general agreement and trivial discrepancy afford the strongest evidence of the absence of collusion, will here again deserve to be recollected. And as to the identity of words, in which some passages are recorded, we observe, first, that it is only partial; and secondly, that the transcription of correct, consecrated, and inspired phraseology, from one record to another, impeaches not the fact of both authors being competent witnesses. Justin Martyr makes mention, several times, of the *Apomneumata* of the Apostles, which, he says, were called *Evangelia*. Now, it has been asserted, that these *Apomneumata* were a collection of sayings and transactions of our Lord, recorded by the Apostles before any of our Gospels were written: that three of the Gospels were in a manner copied from them; and that neither the original document nor any of these abstracts were termed *Evangelium* before the time of Justin. If these apostolic memoirs had ever existed, they would have been a record of

high authority ; that record all churches would have used : and it would have been strange indeed, if, after having been generally adopted until the year 155, it should have suddenly disappeared, and that after it had obtained such publicity, as to receive the name of Evangelium. But what authority is there for the existence or repute of this early document? No writer, before or since, or contemporary with Justin, has mentioned it; and no vestige of it remains. Papias, earlier than Justin, A. D. 116, likewise quotes the Gospel of St. Matthew, and that of St. Mark. Polycarp, contemporary with the Apostles, mentions the four Gospels ; but says nothing concerning these *Autoptic* memoirs. Clement is equally silent, though he mentions the four Gospels: and says, that those containing the genealogies were first written. Irenæus, A. D. 178, and Tertullian, A. D. 200, may be cited as similar evidences. By several subsequent writers these memoirs are alluded to; but always among spurious Gospels. Eusebius makes no mention of such pretended records ; adding, that the Apostles wrote no Gospels—that Peter was too modest to write one—that Matthew wrote by entreaty of the Jews, and John, to supply defects—that John used nowritten Gospel ; and that many Gospels were forged by heretics*.

* Christ. Obs. 1808, p. 623.

Origen * says, that Matthew, being full of the Holy Ghost, wrote his Gospel. Mark, according to Papias †, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote, though not methodically, what things he mentioned concerning Christ. Clemens, Irenæus, and others, represent Mark as recording the words of Peter. As to St. Luke, he himself shows, that he did not copy from such apostolic documents. He says he wrote from the testimony, not the authorized memoirs, of eye-witnesses and ministers, i. e. *υπηρεται*, attendants. Origen ‡ pronounces Luke to have been full of the Holy Ghost; and Eusebius states him to have written from conversation and dwelling together, *συνστας και διατριβης* §, with Paul and the other Apostles: not from records. Again, if Matthew and Luke copied these Apomneumata, why do they differ in many things; for instance, in the genealogies? There are other differences respecting the temptation, the sermon on the mount, and the treatment of our Lord after his apprehension. Mark and Luke omit the account of the Magi, which, Justin says, was in the Apomneumata. Matthew and Mark have omitted the command to continue the bread and wine, the election of Matthias, and the promise

* Tom. iii. p. 932, ed. Delarue.

† Euseb. Ecc. Hist. l. iii. c. 39.

‡ Orig. tom. iii. p. 932.

§ Euseb. Ecc. Hist. l. ii. c. 15.

and gift of the Holy Ghost. Matthew omits the ascension. On the whole, we conclude, that these Apomneumata never existed; or, if they did, that Matthew, Mark, and Luke, did not borrow from that or any other written document. The truth is, that it was for the interest of Socinianism to establish the existence of such a record; because the next step would be to adopt the notion of Marcion, that, before the Evangelists borrowed from it, it had been interpolated by heretics.

The Trinity being the grand fortress pointed at by the batteries of Socinianism, and the divinity of the Holy Ghost being stated in various passages, too plainly to be refined away, it became necessary to merge that attribute in the divinity of the Father. Hence *the Personality of the Eternal Comforter* was denied, and he evaporated, in the Socinian creed, into an energy or emanation issuing from the Divine Being*. This was originally the heresy of the Pneumatomachi, whose leader, Macedonius Patriarch of Constantinople, believed the Spirit to be an energy attendant upon the Son; an error which produced the clauses in the Nicene creed, "the Lord and giver of life, proceeding from the Father

* " Spiritum S. non esse personam, non magis quam aliæ proprietates, vel effecta Dei sunt personæ: sed nihil aliud quam peculiaris quædam virtus et efficacia Dei." Socinus.

and the Son, and with the Father and the Son together, worshipped and glorified; him also who spoke by the prophets*.” Acts are attributed to the Holy Ghost which destroy the Socinian prosopopœia. The Spirit maketh intercession for the saints, according to the will of God†; but intercession is a personal action, and cannot be attributed to the Father; for, as it was said respecting Christ, a mediator is not of one, but God is one; so, likewise, an intercessor is not of one; but God, on the Socinian principle, is one, that is, not only one God, but one Person. Again: to be sent unto men, is a personal action. “When the Comforter is come, whom I will send you from the Father‡;” and again, “If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him to you §.” Now suppose the Holy Ghost an energy, and mark the dilemma. If the Son and the Father are one, Christ could not say, “If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you;” for the Paraclete, an energy, was already there. If the Son were inferior to the Father, Christ could not say, “I will send you the Paraclete, or energy, from the Father;” for the inferior could not possess power over the superior. The only key to

* Pearson on the Creed, p. 325.

† Rom. viii. 26, 27.

‡ John, xv. 26.

§ John, xvi. 7.

these passages consists in the doctrine of three distinct Persons in one Godhead. Again, to speak what one hears is a distinct attribute, implying separateness of person. "When the Spirit of God shall come, he shall not speak of himself; but whatever he shall hear, that shall he speak*." If this be applied to the Father, I demand, "Of whom does the Father hear what he speaks?" God the Father would speak of himself. Once more: "He shall glorify me; for he shall receive of mine, and show it to you†," could not be spoken by Christ (and, à fortiori, not by the Socinian man, Jesus) concerning the Father, or concerning the energy of the Father. Socinus, however, has devised another subtlety, by which the Spirit is stated to be, by metonymy, the effect of God's energy, the man acted upon by God; but Bishop Pearson‡ has exposed the absurdity of this statement, by asking how St. Peter, receiving of God, could show what he received to St. Peter; and by proving that the attributes of being poured out, or distributed, &c. are not repugnant to the nature of a person, and apply to the gifts and effects of that person.

Besides performing personal acts, such as teach-

* John, xvi. 13.

† John, xvi. 14.

‡ Expos. of the Creed, p. 313.

ing, speaking, and witnessing*; besides possessing personal powers of understanding and will †, the Holy Ghost is conjoined with the other two Persons, as the object of worship, and the fountain of benedictions ‡. He appeared under the emblem of a dove, and of cloven tongues of fire §: and in the Greek a masculine article or epithet is joined to his name, the neuter Πνευμα ||: Ὁ δε Παρακλητος ἐκεινος; and το Πνευμα ὁ, properly translated *who*; and το Πνευματι ὅς ἐστιν, improperly translated *which*.

With respect to the *influence of the Holy Ghost upon the soul*, we see not upon what principle the Socinians can consistently deny it, except that of clipping out, ad libitum, whatsoever displeases them. How else can they dispose of the following passages:—"Except a man be born of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God;" John, iii. 5. "And because ye are sons, God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father;" Gal. iv. 6. "The Spirit, by which we cry, Abba, Father;" Rom. vi. 15. "No man can come unto me, except the Father which hath sent me, draw him;" John, vi. 44. The doctrine of

* Mark, xiii. 11; Acts, xx. 23; Rom. viii. 15, 16; 1 Cor. vi. 19; Acts, xv. 28; and Acts, xvi. 6, 7.

† 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11; and xii. 11.

‡ Matt. xxviii. 19; 2 Cor. xiii. 14; and John, v. 7.

§ Matt. iii. 16; Acts, ii. 4.

|| John, xiv. 26; xv. 26; xvi. 13; and Ephes. i. 13.

sanctification, indeed, is founded on that of original sin, or inherited depravity ; and it is natural that they who reject the latter, should dismiss its correlative point of belief. Man is very far gone from original righteousness, and cannot of himself turn to God, and bring forth fruits unto holiness. “ In me dwelleth no good thing ; to perform what is good I find not ;” Rom. vii. 18. “ The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would ;” Gal. v. 17. See Psalm cxxvii. 1 ; Prov. xx. 24 ; Jer. x. 23 ; 1 Cor. ii. 14 ; John, viii. 43.

Hence the necessity for the Spirit of God to enlighten the understanding and direct the will. “ Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves ; but our sufficiency is of God ;” 2 Cor. iii. 5. “ As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me ; for without me ye can do nothing ;” John, xv. 4, 5. “ For it is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good pleasure ;” Philip. ii. 13. As man, by his free agency, may cherish or reject the impulses of the Spirit ; the work of sanctification is represented as a joint labour : “ The Spirit itself bearing witness with our spirits ; that we are the children of God ;” Rom. viii. 16. “ Work out your salvation, for it is God that worketh in you ;” Philip. ii. 13. “ Grieve not

the Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption;" Ephes. iv. 30. "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man will open the door, I will come in unto him," &c. Rev. iii. 20. "Quench not the Spirit;" 1 Thesal. v. 19. Thus every exhortation to virtue, every persuasion acting on the intellect, supposes spiritual influence on the soul, and is an entreaty to follow its leading and suggestions; and all the virtues are termed "the fruits of the Spirit;" Gal. v. 22. Texts to the same effect might be multiplied to almost any extent. Our postulate, however, and the first branch of our syllogism, is always this: The Scriptures are inspired, and speak the language of infallible truth; but we forget that we reason with an opponent, who, to this whole body of proof, can reply with the coolest effrontery—*Negatur major.*

And so *there* is an end of the question in regard to Scriptural proof. If we could hope that human authority would have any weight with those who have rejected divine teaching, we would briefly add, that Clement of Alexandria, *Quis dives salv.* c. 21; Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* l. iv. c. 27; Tertullian, *de Oratione*, c. 24, and the other Fathers, bear testimony to this doctrine.

Having dismissed original sin, atonement, and spiritual influence, it was a natural consequence with these cutters and hackers of Holy Writ (till nothing was left remaining, and Christianity

could no longer recognise itself), that the Sacraments should shrivel into ceremonious rites, without any inward operations. Baptism became, in their hands, a mere matriculation, and the second sacrament an anniversary dinner.

No doubt, formal initiation into Christianity, and commemoration of the death of its Founder, were main intentions in the institution of these holy rites ; though, when nothing further is regarded, they must necessarily be abridged of all their tender and touching solemnity. “Go and baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” “This do in remembrance of me ;” and, “As oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye do show the Lord’s death until he come.” Matt. xxviii. 19 ; Luke, xxii. 19 ; 1 Cor. xi. 26. These passages may be allowed to refer to the sacraments only in the form of prescribed ceremonies. But circumcision, the corresponding rite and type of baptism, was a sign of initiation into the privileges of the Jewish church, and bound over the infant member to the duties correlative with these privileges. So baptism, the sign of entrance into the Christian church, conveys forgiveness of sin ; in infants, original ; in adults, original and actual ; and it demands faith and repentance ; personal in the latter case, and by the temporary proxy of sponsors in the former. “He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved,” &c. ; Mark, xvi. 16. “Repent, and be bap-

tized, for the remission of sins;" Acts, ii. 38. Again, as to the Lord's Supper, the passover had likewise required some symbolical preparation, such as the eating of unleavened bread; and, "Christ, our Passover, being slain for us, we are to keep the feast with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth;" 1 Cor. v. 8.

The sacraments, thus something more than festive commemorations, in which the well-disposed and the wicked might alike partake in social unconcern, are, moreover, means and channels of celestial influence. "Be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost." "Christ shall baptize with the Holy Ghost," in opposition to the baptism of simple repentance; Matt. iii. 11; and Acts, ii. 38. So the disciples of Apollos had been baptized with John's baptism unto repentance; but having not received, or heard of the Holy Ghost, it was necessary that Paul should baptize them over again with the baptism of Jesus, which conferred that gift*. In the other sacrament, likewise, our souls are strengthened and refreshed by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine; for, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" 1 Cor. x. 16. Hence, indeed, the necessity of due spiritual preparation; "for he that eateth

* Acts, xix. 2, &c.

unworthily eateth his own condemnation, *not discerning the Lord's body*;" 1 Cor. xi. 29. "As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father; so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me;" John, vi. 53, 54, 55. The church, comprehending Christ and the faithful, is described under the similitude of a vine. To be a branch united to the trunk, or restored when broken off, is to receive the needful sap and nourishment. "As the branch cannot bear fruit except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me;" John, xv. 4. To the same effect is the text, "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body;" 1 Cor. xii. 13; and both are capable of extension to the restoring sacrament.

We here say nothing of the benefits of communion in the Eucharist; as these are not the point in question, and are not denied by the Socinians; but when the similitude of the vine, with all its consequences, is held in view, the bond of this union is firmer, and its advantages are infinitely more extensive than can be affirmed in regard to the Socinian sacrament, a mere peaceful fellowship or co-operation in a common act.

It would, perhaps, be fortunate for some Socinians, and for no small number of professing members in other persuasions, could the next point of disbelief, namely, that relating to the existence and agency of the devil, be satisfactorily made out.

Now, this is not a question whether he be clothed with a substantial form, whether he be a frightful representation with horns, hoofs, and a tail, whether he breathe fire from his jaws, and smoke from his nostrils. The point to be discussed is this—whether the evil spirit possesses personality; or, whether Satan be not a mere prosopopœia of the principle of wickedness within us*.

“Now we are upon this subject, permit me to recommend to your consideration the universality of the doctrine concerning an evil being, who, in the beginning of time, had opposed himself, who still continues to oppose himself, to the supreme Source of all good. Hence has been derived whatever we have read of the wandering stars of the Chaldeans, two of them beneficent, and two of them malignant; hence the Egyptian Typho and Osiris, the Persian Arimanius and Oromasdes, the Grecian celestial and infernal Jove, the Bramah and the Zeapory of the Indians, Peruvians, Mexicans, the good and evil principle, by whatever names they may be called, of all other barbarous nations; and hence the structure of the whole book of Job, in whatever light of history or drama it is to be considered. Now, does it not appear reasonable to suppose, that an opinion so ancient, and so uni-

* See Granville Sharp on the Personality of the Evil Spirit.

versal, has arisen from tradition, concerning the fall of our first parents; disfigured indeed, and obscured, as all traditions must be, by many fabulous additions *? ”

We are distinctly informed in Scripture, that the devil and his angels †, a band of evil intelligences, with an arch fiend at their head, were formerly good angels and inhabitants of heaven: that by rebellion they lost their first estate, and were cast into the bottomless gulf ‡; that they are there reserved in chains unto the judgment of the great day. We find their leader specified in Scripture by various names, chiefly that of Satan; in Hebrew, the Adversary; and Devil, or the Accuser §: also Abaddon in Hebrew, and Apollyon in Greek; words signifying Destroyer ||; and likewise, Angel of the bottomless pit, Prince of the world, Prince of darkness, a sinner from the beginning, Beelzebub, Belial, deceiver, dragon, liar, leviathan, Lucifer, murderer, serpent, tormentor, the god of this world ¶.

* Bishop Watson's Apology.

† Matt. xxv. 41.

‡ Jude, 6; Rev. ix. 11, 17, and 20.

§ Parkhurst's Hebrew Lex. in loc. Greek Lex. in loc. Matt. xii. 26; Rev. xx. 2; Luke, xx. 17, 18; Job, i. 6, et passim; Matt. iv. 1; John, viii. 4; 1 Pet. v. 8, et passim.

|| Rev. ix. 11.

¶ John, xii. 31; 1 John, iii. 8; Matt. xii. 24; 2 Cor. vi. 15; Rev. xx. 10, and xii. 7; John, viii. 44; Isaiah, xxvii. 1, and xiv. 12; John, viii. 44; Isaiah, xxvii. 1; Job, ii. 6; Matt. xviii. 34; 2 Cor. iv. 4.

It is further said of him, as of a person, that, through his envy and malice, sin, death, and evils of every description came into the world; that in the form of a serpent he tempted Eve*; that he was a lying spirit in the mouth of certain prophets†; that he tempted David to number Israel‡; that he was the adversary permitted to tempt Job, by destroying his substance and afflicting him in various ways; that he tempted our Lord forty days in the wilderness; that he soweth tares among the wheat; that he desired to sift Peter as wheat; entered into Judas, and filled the heart of Ananias; that the wicked are his children; that he had the power of death; and that the Son of God was manifested to destroy his works§.

Now, could all these names and attributes be given, could all these acts be ascribed simply to the inward wicked inclination of man? Can they be conceived, can they make sense, without the admission of a person, a distinct spirit, an exterior tempter? Harwood, a Socinian, and a safer guide to editions of the classics than he was a grave divine, published, we remember, a coxcomi-

* Gen. iii. 1.

† 1 Kings, xxii. 21.

‡ 1 Chron. xxi.

§ Job, i. and ii.; Matt. iv. 1; Matt. xiii. 19; Luke, xxii. 31; John, xiii. 2; Acts, v. 3; John, viii. 44; Heb. ii. 14; 1 John, iii. 8—12.

cal translation of the New Testament; in which, after rendering *Talitha cumi*, “Young LADY, arise;” and “Paul, too much learning hath made thee mad,” “Paul, thy profound erudition hath disturbed thine intellectual faculties;” he broached the wonderful discovery, that Satan and all the devils mentioned by the evangelical writers were to be considered only in the light of oriental figures and eastern metaphors. Rowland Hill made himself merry, in his coarse way, by applying this new gloss to several particular passages; and was quite enchanted at the prospect of a new version, in which we should read, “And he was casting out an eastern metaphor, and it was dumb;” or, “The five thousand oriental figures entered into the herd of swine; and they all ran violently down a steep place into the sea, and were drowned*.” But we might well apply to nearly all the passages above quoted, this whimsical “*reductio ad absurdum*.” For surely, figurative language is unknown to Scripture, which would explain such expressions, only by the exclusive key of irregular propensities in the mind. Could it be said, that He, who was alone without sin, was tempted by his irregular propensities? or, that irregular propensities were in heaven, and by rebellion lost their first estate? or, that through irregular propensities, irregular propensities entered into the world?

* Village Dialogues.

The Socinians, in general, next deny the *spirituality and separate existence of the soul*. In other words, they advocate the doctrine of MATERIALISM. All the phenomena of mind, say they, arise from the bodily structure. In all the gradations of animated being, from an oyster to a man, the diversities of intelligence depend solely and exclusively on diversities in organization. Rational man, with all his powers of genius and judgment, is the necessary result of a larger portion of cerebral matter, and finer texture of nerves, than belongs to other animals. "Medullary substance is capable of sensation and of thought*." This is evident, from the fact, that the rational powers begin, flourish, and decay together with the bodily organs. The weight of brain in proportion to the size of body in man, is greater than in any other animal. Insanity is a disease of the bodily organ. Such is the argument on the part of the materialists. The Socinians, however, add, that the resurrection of the body, on which the Scripture lays much stress, is a doctrine of no importance, if the soul has a separate existence.

The intimate union subsisting between the soul and the body, and the soul's performing its functions through the instrumentality of the corporeal organs, are admitted facts; though we

* Lawrence's Surgical Lectures.

know not the manner in which the mind acts on its material associate. From so intimate an union, it naturally follows, that every derangement of the corporeal organs would, in some measure, affect the mind; whose irritations and vexations must again, in their turn, obstruct the bodily functions. But from all this we can only conclude with fairness, that the mind exercises itself by the ministration of corporeal organs; not that its faculties are the result of their configuration. "Connexion is not identity*."

Neither would the consentaneous advance and decline of the intellect and organic structure, even should we allow them to be universal, carry us a step further. For, is there any difficulty in supposing, that, without identity, they may be developed together, and that bodily decline should betoken the recession of the spirit? We might as well say, that the *body* is absent because the child is not the man, as that the spirit is absent, because it exists not at once in plenary perfection. Both cleave the bud and swell gradually to fulness. But it is a palpable non sequitur, that because they spring together, the one must be a mode or an effect of the other. This sympathy, however, though generally observable, is by no means so uni-

* Rennell on Scepticism.

versal and invariable as it would needs be, were the doctrine of materialism well founded. How often, in fact, do we experience the reverse? How often is the most healthy and vigorous state of body attended with blunted faculties, stationary intellect, or downright stupidity! How often is the puny, sickly, delicate, nervous frame associated with the boldest genius, or the most penetrating judgment? In a great school, the blockhead will be found the bruiser, while the leader and the ornament is often the pallid spectre or the dwindled anatomy. Of the asthmatic Virgil and the blear-eyed Horace, Augustus observed, that he sat betwixt sighs and tears. A link-boy could ridicule Pope as an imperfect work of creation; yet it would probably baffle all the pugilistic champions of England to write but two couplets of the *Essay on Man*.

So, likewise, in regard to decline, the anomalies confound the materialist. We see, as in Swift, the body continue vigorous, while the mind, the very soul of wit, sinks into second childishness and mere oblivion. We see, as in Titian, Lord Chatham, Dr. Johnson, West, the body dwindled into the imbecility of old age, and trembling on the verge of the tomb, while the mind remains possessed of all its faculties, in their full freshness and unimpaired vigour.

Neither is it true, in fact, that the relative weight of brain, proportioned to the bodily

bulk, regulates the measure of intelligence. But if this were indeed true, it would not destroy the position that the body is the mere organ of the mind. According to Haller and Cuvier*, the brain in a child six years old, is $\frac{1}{2}$ part of the whole body; in an adult, the brain is $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the whole body; in the ourang-outang, it is in the same proportion as in man; in the American monkey with prehensile tail, it is $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{5}$; in the great baboon, $\frac{1}{10}$; the mole, $\frac{1}{8}$; the fox, $\frac{1}{20}$; the field mouse, $\frac{1}{31}$; the beaver, $\frac{1}{90}$; the elephant, $\frac{1}{500}$; the ox, $\frac{1}{750}$; the horse, $\frac{1}{700}$; the ass, $\frac{1}{254}$; the goose, $\frac{1}{360}$; the rook, $\frac{1}{25}$; the duck, $\frac{1}{257}$; the sparrow, $\frac{1}{25}$; the canary-bird, $\frac{1}{4}$; the tortoise, $\frac{1}{2240}$. The most transient glance at these proportions, shows that nothing whatever can be made out from them. Some of the animals, whose sagacity and powers of instinct are well known to be of a very superior kind, as the elephant, the horse, the beaver, rank among the lowest in the scale; while others of an inferior class in point of sagacity, as the canary-bird, the mouse, &c. rise very high: man, according to this measure, is about equal in reasoning powers to the ourang-outang and the mole, but far inferior to the cock, the field mouse, the American monkey with prehensile tail, and many others: to crown

* Quarterly Rev. for Aug. 1819, p. 22.

the whole, the child of six years old has higher intellectual powers than the adult man.

If medullary substance thinks and reasons, it will necessarily follow, that all disease of the brain should derange and impede the powers of thought and ratiocination; and that each loss of medullary substance should be attended with a correspondent loss of these powers. The brain is supposed to think and reason, just as any gland secretes its proper fluid; and as that gland being diseased, its function would be deranged, so an injury or partial destruction sustained by the brain, would sensibly and proportionally affect the intellectual powers.

But various important medical facts *, chiefly adduced by Dr. Ferriar of Manchester, show that every part of the brain may receive an injury without the slightest diminution of intelligence. Instances of this kind are on record in large variety †, at once exposing the quack-

* Transactions of Philos. Society in Manchester.

† Dr. Haller mentions a case, in which half a pound of pus was found in the ventricles of the brain, yet the faculties were unimpaired till death. Sir J. Pringle found an abscess in the right hemisphere of the brain as large as an egg, in a patient who had never been delirious, nor altogether insensible. A woman, under Diemerbroerch's immediate inspection, whose skull was fractured by the fall of a large stone, lost a quantity of brain, equal in size to a man's fist, yet she lived thirty-six days after the accident, without alienation of mind, though paralytic on the side opposite the fracture. Peyronie tells us of a boy, six years old, who received a pistol shot in the head;

ery of the craniological theory, and evincing that the medullary substance is no more than the instrument of an interior and a spiritual power; and that, according to an elegant expression of Sir H. Davy's, to look in the matter of the brain or in the nerves for that which thinks

a suppuration followed, during which he lost a great quantity of the brain at every dressing: at the end of eighteen days he died, having retained his faculties to the last. When the head was opened, the portion of brain remaining in the skull did not exceed the size of a small egg. Nor is it only after the destruction of the superior or lateral parts of the brain, that the powers of thought have been known to exist; they have survived the injury, and even the destruction of the cerebellum, and of the basis of the brain. Haller mentions several instances of scirrhus affecting the cerebellum, and producing death without previously injuring the faculties. Morgagni gives a particular account of a fatal scirrhus of the cerebellum, slow in its progress, not affecting the patient's sense till the last, and then at intervals. Dr. Brunner records a case of a blacksmith, sixty-four years of age, a hard drinker, and an industrious workman, who expired in a fit of apoplexy, having passed the morning in apparent good health. On dissection, the whole brain, even the base of it, was found to be in a most diseased state; yet his faculties had never been impaired, and he had been remarkably acute in his judgment. Bonnet, in a patient who died after an illness of twelve years, without suffering any alienation of mind, found the whole substance of the brain watery, and so soft that it would hardly bear the knife. The pineal gland has been so often found suppurated, or petrified, or full of sabulous particles, without any previous affection of the faculties, that it seems by general consent to be given up as unnecessary to thinking.—See Quarterly Rev. Aug. 1819; and Rennell's Answer to Lawrence.

and reasons, is to search for the master among his slaves.

To these facts we must add the ingenious argument drawn by Mr. Rennell, from the changes sustained by the brain in common with the remainder of the body. An absorbent system exists in the brain, by which, in process of time, that organ undergoes a total change. Now, if the particles of the brain were capable of consciousness, consciousness would cease upon their removal; and personal identity would be destroyed. Personal identity depends on consciousness; and as that consciousness continues, it must be something which does not fluctuate and change; something extraneous to the brain. The body, like the Paralus of Athens, may, by the deposition of new particles similar to those absorbed, preserve an appearance of identity, when no one particle remains unaltered. But there is no APPEARANCE of consciousness; in consciousness the individuality must be real; and this, seeing the brain transmutes, can only be by the existence of an immaterial essence, which never changes.

That insanity is a disease in the bodily organ, is a position equally to be disputed. Certainly, frequent cases of insanity occur, arising primarily from derangement of the brain, from repletion, pressure, or a blow. Under such circumstances, medical treatment alone is neces-

sary to restore the organ to its healthful tone. But most instances of derangement, perhaps, originate in the mind; and though the disorder may first affect the structure of the brain, and so far demand medical treatment; yet the moral regimen is indispensable, and far more effectual than medicine, in attacking the primary cause of the evil. Insanity, then, while it shows the mutual dependence of mind and matter, strongly indicates them to be distinct. After all, so far is it from being a fact, that the brain is perceptibly diseased in all cases of insanity, that of thirty-seven dissections made at Bethlehem Hospital, the structure of the brain was, in eleven cases, firmer than usual; in six, softer; and in the remaining twenty, its consistence was natural. But were the case otherwise, what could be proved from an affection of the brain, in a disorder arising from mental causes, but that the morbid state of the organ is the consequence, not the cause, of the disease?

We are apt to deny the separate existence of mind, in consequence of being continually conversant with material objects; and hence, when we come to study our own internal constitution, we find the operations of mind so intimately connected with the qualities of the body, that we cannot easily separate the one from the other.

Yet nothing, in fact, can be more distinct.

Our ideas of body are derived from our perception of its sensible qualities; our ideas of mind, from consciousness of its inward operations in ourselves. Now, I have a stronger assurance of what passes within me, than of the qualities of external objects; and hence alone has materialism been deemed less absurd than the opposite system of Berkeley, who excluded matter from the universe. This last "contradicts only the suggestions of our perceptions, while the other contradicts those of consciousness *." But from these remarks it follows, that when we speak of mind as not material, we speak on the only conceptions of mind and matter that can be formed.

When we remove our view from the animal creation, and consider the vegetable kingdom and the heavenly bodies; when we mark the growth and structure of the one, and the regular movements of the other; we ascribe these effects to an intelligent cause, which here exists separately from these plants or luminaries. Mind, as in that intelligent Cause, or God, acts independently of matter; and, far from being the result of matter, actuates it. Matter, on the other hand, as in the whole mineral kingdom, exists separately from mind; and no combination of its particles was ever known to produce

* Dugald Stewart's *Philosophy of Mind*. Beattie's *Elements of Moral Science*.

sensation or intelligence. Yet, when put in motion, it is impelled, directly or remotely, by an extraneous intelligent cause; as when the hand tosses a ball into the air. Mind and matter then, thus capable of separate existence, do probably exist as separate and independent elements in the human frame; although their intimate association renders it extremely difficult for us to distinguish them from each other in our conceptions; and this opinion is confirmed by the phenomena of dreaming, of false perception in delirium, and even of some vivid efforts of imagination and recollection; in all which the mind seems to act without the medium of an impression on the material organs.

The general consent of nations respecting a future state, where the soul of man shall live immediately on the dissolution of the body, and shall exist in a cloud-like, unsubstantial form; the dread of apparitions, and the belief in spirits; must be allowed some weight when added to the foregoing arguments.

And these notions are not more prevalent in refined than in barbarous nations, who might appear incapable of that abstraction which separates mind from matter.

Having established, by various arguments, the immateriality of the soul; we proceed to connect its immateriality with the doctrine of its separate existence. For, the separate exist-

ence of mind and matter being once admitted, the material organs, instead of being essential to the operations of mind, must necessarily be a clog upon them: and hence we infer a state, where the chrysalis will rise from its envelope-ment, to soar and glitter in the heavens: a state where the unfettered spirit will burst from the windows of its prison-house, to wave its plumage, and to exult in liberty and light: a condition, in which ampler knowledge and higher enjoyment will result from the full vigour of faculties, disencumbered from their grosser element, and liberated from their tabernacle of flesh *.

Let us now shortly glance at the evidences from Scripture; and consider this inference as the only true interpretation of the passages: "Dust returns to dust, and the spirit to God who gave it †;" and, "Fear not them which kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do ‡:" (now, if the body and soul were inseparable, here would be no antithesis: they who killed the one, would, for the time, kill the other: over this last, however, the power belongs

* Consciousness, the indication of mind, survives, as we have seen, several gradual dissolutions and changes of the body: why not, therefore, the sudden one of death?—Beattie's Elements, vol. i.

† Eccles. xii. 7.

‡ Luke, xii. 4.

to God alone;) “but fear him, who, after he hath killed the body, can cast both body and soul into hell.” “And they stoned Stephen, calling aloud, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit*.” “Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit,” were the last words of the Redeemer.

St. Paul acquaints the Corinthians †, that he knew a man in Christ, caught up into the third heavens; and the parenthesis, “whether in or out of the body I cannot tell,” plainly implies the possibility of the soul’s existence and consciousness, in a state of separation from the body.

We must remember, that it is not the question of a future state, which is here under discussion; and indeed it is going too far to charge, unequivocally, the advocates of materialism with infidelity on that point. We find, in fact, Socinian materialists to be believers in a life to come. In what, then, consists the evil of the material system, as connected with Christian principles? First, we observe, that materialism, though not wholly destroying, greatly diminishes, the probabilities of a future state; and excites scepticism as to the proofs of it derived from natural and revealed religion. For, though it may be contended that God, who once called man, with his thinking organs, his medullary ratiocination, into existence, can as easily re-

* Acts, vii. 58.

† 2 Cor, xii. 2.

peat his original work; it seems much more reconcilable to our reason and habits of thinking, that the immortality of the soul should subsist in its never ceasing to be, when once created: in its surviving the body as a pure spirit, to be afterwards clothed by God in a frame of finer materials, conformable to the higher functions and enjoyments to which it is destined; than that the thread of the continuity of existence should be broken, and that a temporary annihilation should take place for thousands of years: at the end of which, a fresh act of entire creation should call the man into a second existence. Indeed, a thorough-paced materialist is an unbeliever in immortality. Mr. Lawrence affirms pretty plainly, as the consequence and corollary of his materialism, that death, which destroys the bodily structure, destroys the whole of man. "Those, on the other hand," observes Mr. Abernethy, a more solid and experienced medical judge, "those who admit that intelligence may exist distinct from organization, are disposed to admit that the intelligence with which they are endowed may have a separate existence*."

* In discussing the question of materialism, in its connexion with a future being, some difficulties appear to present themselves in regard to the inferior animals. If every thing which is not inert matter be spirit, and if spirit be indestructible, and indicate thereby a probability of its continued consciousness

Death annihilates nothing: if it disperses the parts of the body, not a particle of them is lost.

after death, will not this principle apply to the lower animals? I reply, that man differs from the inferior animals in having a rational principle and moral sense, superadded to the spark of life: that the spark of life alone, by no means indicates consciousness after dissolution; since it may be, and probably is, dissipated in the thin air; and that the materialists, by assigning to man only a more elaborated organization, as the cause of his superior faculties, reduce him in this respect, as far as natural religion is concerned, to a level with the perishable brutes. The immaterialists, then, are freed from this difficulty; and it is they alone who can rightly avail themselves of all the other arguments of natural and revealed religion, in favour of immortal existence. For, to urge that man differs from the inferior creation, in intellectual powers, in a sense of right and wrong, and in anticipations of hereafter; is only driving a materialist deeper into the obstinacy of his principles and the mire of his confusion. He replies, that all this is the result of his superior configuration; and that dust returns to dust, but the spirit to God who gave it, is no news, no comfort, no revelation—nothing but a stale truism to him, who believes that spirit to be only the breath of life, which man partakes in common with the inferior animals. Professor Stewart has observed, that “the proper use of the doctrine of the immateriality of the soul, is not to prove the soul to be physically and necessarily immortal; but to refute the objections which have been urged against the possibility of its existing in a separate state from the body.” But I would add, it is further to strengthen, by that refutation, the other arguments derived from natural and revealed religion, which elevate the *possibility* of its existing in a separate state, into a probability and a moral certainty.—Rennell. Quarterly Review. Dugald Stewart. Beattie.

Death, therefore, annihilates not the soul; and as it has no parts, it exists entire, in separation from its partner body.

The immateriality and separate existence of the soul are intimately connected with the doctrine of *an intermediate state*. Such a state most Socinians deny, as materialists, who think the separate existence of the soul impossible. Now, the notion of Socinian materialists, that a suspension of consciousness, a total insensibility, a sleep of a thousand years, laps the faculties from death to judgment, contains something gloomy and revolting to the feelings, eager to open upon the enjoyments of eternity, and to be rejoined to the beloved friends who had gone before them to the tomb. But let us try how far this instinctive recoil and disappointment is founded in reason and Scripture. We have already proved that mind and matter are distinct, and possess a separate existence; that the body is not necessary to intellectual functions; and that mental operations are not the acts of an organized body. There is, therefore, in the first instance, no absolute necessity for assuming a sleep and suspension of the mental functions.

Having proceeded thus far, we may likewise lay considerable stress on the probability derived from analogy. God exists as a pure spirit; so void of all bodily form, that to assign

him one is idolatry, that crime fenced, in the Jewish theocracy, by so many dreadful menaces*. He maketh his angels also spirits†: having an unembodied existence. Thus, spirits exist separately in the other world; and wherefore may not those of men?

If we refer to Scripture, we find it written in the book of Acts‡, that “by transgression Judas fell, that he might go to his own place.” Thus his soul had not only a place, but its own place. Now, we elsewhere read, that we are encompassed with a cloud of witnesses, among whom are the spirits of just men made perfect§. We infer from this passage, that these spirits, after dissolution, sleep not until the resurrection; for, to be witnesses, they must retain their consciousness. We infer, from both passages, that the spirits of the just and of the wicked have different places assigned to them; and that they go at the hour of death, to exist immediately in these places.

St. Paul signifies to the Philippians||, his desire “to depart, and to be with Christ, which

* John, iv. 24.

† Psalm civ. 4; Heb. i. 7.

‡ Acts, i. 25. See Bishop Bull's Sermons, vol. i. s. 3; Sermons de Chaix, Choix de St. Paul; Dr. Hale on the Prophecies.

§ Heb. xii. 1 and 23.

|| Philip. i. 23

is far better;" but would it be far better to depart (expressed remarkably by a double affirmation, πολλῶ μαλλον κρείσσων) into the slumber of centuries? and would THIS be being with Jesus Christ? To the same purpose he assures the Corinthians* of his willingness "to be absent from the body, and present (or conversant) with the Lord." Now, since even in the body, there is a certain presence with the Lord, insomuch that "we dwell in him and he in us;" the presence with him immediately after absence from the body must be more intimate than that enjoyed when in the body: and since this could not be in a sleep of the soul, it follows, that the moment of absence from the body is, at least, the moment of conscious presence with the Lord. To be with the Lord then, immediately after death, imports being in the same place with him, and being in a state of consciousness; as he said to the penitent thief, "To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise."

Sheol, in Hebrew, and Hades in Greek (αἰδης), is the place of departed spirits; and different from Keber, the grave. Jacob says, "I will go down to *Sheol*, to my son †," and not the grave; as Joseph was not buried, or supposed to be buried. Job calls Sheol, the

* 1 Cor. v. 8.

† Gen. xxxvii. 35.

place of all living*. In this Sheol there were believed to be two divisions; the upper, Paradise; and the lower, called by St. Peter Tartarus, and improperly translated Hell†; since it is different from Gehenna: as Hades, in the parable of Dives, is also rendered "hell" incorrectly‡. No one goes to heaven or hell till the general resurrection. Paradise was near the third heavens, as we may gather from St. Paul's story of the vision. It was above Tartarus; for Dives lift up his eyes, and saw Lazarus afar off. The Saxon word Hell, corresponds to 'Αδης; but hell, as the place of the damned, is in Scripture designated by the word Γέεννα §.

In the parable of Dives and Lazarus, our Saviour describes the former as, immediately after dissolution, finding himself in a place of punishment; not in hell, or Γέεννα, but 'Αδης, the state of departed spirits; being the only passage in which that word expresses a place of

* Job, xxx. 23.

† 2 Peter, ii. 4.

‡ Parkhurst's Lexicon, art. 'Αδης and Τάρταρος, where the state of departed spirits explains the first, and the second is said to be the blackness of darkness in which the evil spirits are reserved.

§ Matt. v. 22, 29, 30; x. 28; xxii. 15. James, iii. 6. Mark, ix. 43, 44. The word is thus applied by the Chaldee Targums on Ruth, ii. 12; Ps. cxl. 12; Isaiah, xxvi. 15; xxxiii. 14; and by the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan on Gen. iii. 24; xv. 17; comp. 2 Esdras, ii. 29.

pain or punishment; while Lazarus is straightway carried into Abraham's bosom: and though this is certainly a story illustrative of another truth*, the scope of it is to show the state of the soul after dissolution; and as we know this to have been the belief of the Jewish church, before our Saviour's time, we cannot imagine, that, even by a parable, he would have sanctioned an opinion which was erroneous. St. Peter writes, that our Lord, after his crucifixion, went and preached to the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah†. As to what is meant by his preaching to them, it is foreign to the present argument to inquire: the passage evinces that the spirits of these wicked men existed in a state of consciousness; and in an abode where they were reserved for the future judgment of the last day. Our Lord, in commenting before the Sadducees, on the words "I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob;" adds, "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living:" now, if the souls of these patriarchs were in a state of lethargy, they would not be spoken of as then living‡.

In our Lord's transfiguration, Moses and Elias are described as having appeared speaking

* Luke, xvi.

† 1 Pet. iii. 19.

‡ Mark, xxii. 32.

with him *. Now, though Elias was taken up into heaven in a chariot of fire, Moses, we know, died and was buried; his soul, therefore, it is clear from that appearance before Christ, was not in a state of lethargy and temporary oblivion. "I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord †." But to experience blessedness, consciousness is necessary; and there can be no consciousness in a sleep of the soul: or, if this could deserve the name of blessedness, the wicked would be blessed as well as the just, at least until the hour of resurrection. "I saw," saith St. John, "under the altar, the souls of them that were slain for the word of God; and they cried (not in a state of inactivity), they cried, How long, O Lord! shalt thou not judge and avenge our blood? And it was answered, Until their fellow-martyrs also, should be fulfilled;" that is, until the number of the elect should be accomplished ‡. To all this, I will add, that the primitive fathers, without any exception, held this belief; and that it is accordingly embodied in all the ancient liturgies.

It has been objected, that a resurrection, which the Scriptures frequently and forcibly announce, can only be explained by adopting materialism; since such resuscitation is quite superfluous and useless, if the soul had lived

* Matt. xvii. 2.

† Rev. xiv. 13.

‡ Rev. vi. 9.

since the hour of death. But I have elsewhere shown, that the stress laid on the resurrection of the body, is designed to give earnest of that future individuality of person, which, to frail sojourners in this tabernacle of flesh, who might dread a futurity in which spirits would still exist, and yet be lost in immensity, diffused in the thin air (Ecclesiasticus, ii. 3), absorbed (agreeably to the maxims of some Deists) in that living principle which extends through all nature, and which they call God;—to all such, strengthens the hope of enjoying pleasures of individual consciousness, and of recognising the long-dissevered objects of their regard. Not that it is the body that died which is to enter into a state of happiness; for “flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven.” And truly did Tom Paine argue, if we die and live again in the same body, it is presumptive proof that we should die a second time. (1 Cor. xv.) We are to be changed in the twinkling of an eye; to put on incorruption; to be clothed with a body like unto Christ’s glorious body. Yet if the soul cannot exist except in the body, if it be only a mode or operation of the corporeal organs, what, it may be asked, is here to be understood by “we?” When a man puts on his coat, he is something separate from that coat; but if the coat be the man, to say he shall be clothed to-morrow with

that coat, is only to say, that his coat will put on his coat; which is absurd. Therefore, to say, We shall be clothed with a glorious body, is to affirm that "WE" are something separate from that body; i. e. spirits.

It has been likewise objected, that the case of persons recovered from drowning, whose faculties were suspended for half an hour without consciousness, seems to favour the long insensibility of the soul. Nor was it necessary to travel so far for this remark, since every night that we lay down our heads upon our pillows, the same temporary unconsciousness takes place. There is nothing to prevent the soul's repose, while it is weighed down by its earthly tabernacle; yet it often, in the midst of that repose, breaks forth into a flight of imagination and thought, which evinces its independence on the corporeal functions; and proves that its nature is not lethargy, but springiness and activity. But it is a poor analogy from such instances to the condition of man when the dissolution of his frame hath taken place. The spirit, set free from the burden of its earthly covering, will be entirely disenchained from the infirmities of that investment. "And they rest not day nor night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come."

But in the objection now stated, the main error consists in supposing, that the individuals

recovered from drowning were recovered from a state of death; whereas, they were only apparently in that state. The spark of life was not extinct: they had not passed the barrier which separates this world from the next. We might apply to them the language of our Saviour, "The damsel is not dead, but sleepeth." They were not in the state in which they would have been, had the death been entire. It is, therefore, not from them, but from our Lord alone, that we are to gather the secrets of the unknown world, or the history of our own spirits, when they shall have thrud the portals of the tomb. And we know that, even during the three short days of his entombment, his soul was not asleep, but travelling into the world of spirits.

What comfort, to the survivors of the dead in the Lord, to know that the souls of these loved friends are not now sleeping in the cold grave, but awake, and awake for ever, to the perception of ineffable felicity! What comfort to know that they are about our path and about our bed, to cheer our solitary moments, to rejoice over our successes, to sympathize with our griefs, to mourn for our losses, and to tremble amidst our dangers! What joy to hope, that, when our own last hour shall arrive, some one of that invisible globe and army of ministering spirits will be near; and that we may sustain

that fearful crisis, by listening to the whisper: Rejoice for thy passing knell; it rings and welcomes thee into life. There is but one short step from the dismal confines of earth to the threshold of happiness and of heaven. In a few moments, souls, sometime dissevered, will know the purest intercourse of unembodied existences. They will blend and mingle into one. "To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise."

In contending against Socinians, all the arguments in favour of an intermediate state, elucidate, by a reflex light, the doctrine of the soul's immateriality; for, if such a state be proved, then, since the body perishes at death, and is not rejoined to the soul, or resuscitated, till the resurrection, the intermediate state must needs be a mansion of conscious unembodied spirits*.

With the doctrine of materialism is likewise inseparably connected the principle of philosophical necessity. Thus, by a strange coincidence, Calvinism and Socinianism touch each other: as if every religious error should confound itself in its consequences. Calvinism is religious necessity; and necessity, philosophical Calvinism. It

* Paine ridiculed St. Paul as a fool, for saying, the grain is not quickened except it die: though St. Paul only meant an allusion to its being put, like a dead body, in the earth. But Paine was the greater fool, in resting his hopes of futurity exclusively on the conversion of a worm to a butterfly; for the worm did not *die* first.

is impossible to be a materialist without being a necessarian; for mechanism is the inevitable consequence of materialism. Organization is obedient to external impulses, and matter has no volition. If materialism be true; if medullary substance thinks; if the faculties be modes of the action of organic matter; it follows, that every physical change in the bodily organs, must necessarily and inevitably drag the servile intellect after it. Even the choice of applying certain causes of these physical changes (ardent spirits, for example), is, under this supposition, denied. For that power is in the mind subservient to its physical lord and master; and hence, option is overruled by temperament, and man is the slave exclusively of climate, blood, nerves, and external stimuli; without one independent internal effort to burst these ignoble bonds. Every accumulation of these physical influences serves only to brutalize the subject intellect more and more; and all hope, all chance, all possibility of the strong man's rising to shake off, in any case, the thousand cords which bind him, is utterly at an end. Now, here, as in Calvinism, all persuasions, all exhortations to virtue, to melioration, to redemption of mind, all that recommends what is pure; that deprecates what is base; all that speaks to hope and fear, and honour and shame, is not only unavailing, but absolute nonsense.

If definite circumstances produce definite conduct, where is the praise of a good action, or the demerit of a bad one? Virtue and vice are names without a meaning. A fair analogy is opened from the natural to the intellectual world; and the soul, the moral principle, like the life of man, is as clay in the hands of the potter. But every such analogy is a fruitful source of error; by excluding spontaneousness, the distinctive feature of intellect, and the only ground of moral responsibility. Now, as our argument is with professors of revealed religion, our whole case might be rested on a production of the Bible, a reference to all its parts and all its passages; to its promises, its denunciations; its exhortations to duty; its calls to repentance; its praises of holiness; its assignment of rewards to obedience: all supposing a certain liberty in man, and all unintelligible, if he be driven by invincible necessity. Here the Socinian has not merely to apply his scissars to a few scattered paragraphs, but to obliterate the whole volume in a patent mincing machine. We might further refer to the moral attributes of the Almighty, and demand, whether his goodness would be the cause of sin; whether his justice would punish where the transgression could not be avoided; whether his wisdom would first create man a creature of irresistible impulses, and then punish or reward

him as though he had an option betwixt good and evil. We might refer to the natural impulse, as well as to the divine command, which incite man to prayer; for, why should we pray if things cannot be otherwise than they are? nay, our prayers themselves, like the fatality of *Œdipus*, are parts of the grand chain of consequences. We might refer to the moral sense of men (which no principle whether Calvinistic or necessarian can wholly extinguish), to the conscience accusing or excusing; the self-gratulation which tells me I have done well where I might have disobeyed; the remorse which stings me for having fallen when I might have stood.

In this argument, the infidels Hobbes, Collins, Hume, Leibnitz, and Kaimes; the Socinians, Priestley and Belsham; and the Calvinists, Edwards and Toplady; have defended the doctrine of necessity: while Clarke, King, Law, Reid, Butler, Horsley, and Beattie, have supported the principle of a voluntary control over circumstances. That God can do what he will with his own, and that to inculcate free will is to deny the foreknowledge of God, are the chief grounds of the necessarians. To the former we reply, that what God can do, is different from what he *does*, to exalt his wisdom, justice, and holiness: and to the latter, that to assert the free will of man is not to deny

the foreknowledge of God, who might foresee what course my free will would take. The laws of all nations agree to punish some actions in a man who is master of his reason, for which they would not punish one whom they knew to be distracted. This distinction could not exist, were both driven by an invincible necessity *.

But without once more fighting our battle with the Calvinists, let it here suffice to observe, that the doctrine of necessity charges God as the author of sin; deprives man of moral agency, and consequently of responsibility; stultifies penal laws both human and divine; precludes the use of preventive means; destroys

* Action implies volition: the motion of the eyelids, or a casual train of thought, come not within the definition of action; but when we shut our eyes, or strive to recollect, the mind is then not passive. The same difference obtains betwixt the perception of a truth and investigation. The optional power of beginning motion or determination, is called volition. The will is determined by motives, but not necessarily determined. It is the will itself that throws influence on one or other of two opposing motives. A man is tempted to steal: his good motive, prompted by grace, is honesty; his bad motive, prompted by the devil, is avarice. To compare this man's mind to two dead weights, is inadmissible. The will is the sword of Brennus, which turns the scale, and thus determines the virtue or criminality of his conduct; if to thieving, he deserves to be hanged; if to abstaining, he earns the favour of God: and this volition, this merit or demerit, cannot be predicated of one pound weighed against a pound and a quarter.

the distinction betwixt right and wrong; deadens the nice feelings of reluctance and compunction; elevates the ardent mind into presumption, and depresses the gloomy in despair.

It were tedious and needless to follow the metaphysics of necessarians through other defences of their system; that necessity does not fetter freedom, since a man may do voluntarily what he could not avoid; nor prevent the use of means, since means are appointed as well as ends. They are mere quibbles and contradictions in terms; for that which cannot be avoided is not done voluntarily; and if means are not optional but appointed, liberty is at an end. As to the cases of God, who is said to be a necessary being, and not a moral agent; of Jesus Christ, whose obedience was necessary; and of Judas, who was an appointed yet a voluntary betrayer; they open discussions which we ought to confess too high for us; and would not, if known in all their bearings, apply to the ordinary probationers for eternity.

The necessarian, unless he be the veriest driveller, or most shameless profligate, is every hour of the day contradicting his own principles; deciding with deliberation; acting upon motives; selecting between opposites; approving virtue; condemning public measures; training his child as a moral agent; perhaps praying

to God; and sensible to self-acquittal or reproof*.

It is argued, that by the doctrine of free will, the counsels of God may be deranged and altered by his creatures, and the self-determinations of man placed on the throne of the universe. But surely it circumscribes not the omnipotence of Divinity to place (for the glory of his other attributes) in the hands of his creatures a scanty and temporary agency; seeing that, at any time, he can overrule their designs; seeing that all their actions, whether good or evil, are subject to the immensity of his control; seeing that he foreknows the whole bent and direction their volition will take; seeing that, with but a single pressure of his hand, he can destroy the springs of life, arrest the course of the free agent, retract the imparted power, and rectify the effects of its aberrations.

As to the texts urged in support of the necessarian scheme, "He is in one mind, who can turn him?" "When he giveth quietness, who can make trouble?" "The Lord hath made even the wicked for the day of evil;" "I create evil;" "As many as were ordained to eternal

* Price and Priestley's discussion of Materialism and Necessity. Palmer on the Liberty of Man. Bryant's Address to Priestley. Dawe's Inquiry into that Controversy. Edwards on the Freedom of Will. Reid on active Powers. Gregory's (of Edinburgh) Essays. Notes to Hartley on Man.

life, believed;" "Being predestinated to an inheritance;" "Appointed unto afflictions;" "A sparrow falleth not without God;" "The thorns choked the wheat sown;" "Ought not Christ to have suffered?" "All that the Father giveth to me shall come to me*:"—some of these passages relate only to the undisputed power or providence of God; some have already been explained under the Calvinistic discussion, as reconcilable to the course of free will foreknown by God; and others deliver truths about which there is no dispute. We will just remark, that "I create evil," exhibits the power of God over evil, and imports only his permission of it†; that "as many as were ordained to eternal life," would be better rendered, prepared, or disposed; *τεταγμενοι*, as it signifies in 1 Cor. xvi. 15: that to be appointed to afflictions, does not signify an irreversible fate, as appears in the cases of Ahab, Hezekiah, and the Ninevites; and that the tendency of thorns to choke wheat precludes not the weeding-hoe of the farmer.

I cannot quit this subject without a word of

* Job, xxiii. 13, 14; and xxxiv. 29. Prov. xvi. 4. Isaiah, xlv. 7. Acts, xiii. 48. Ephes. i. 11. 1 Thess. iii. 3. Matt. x. 29, 30. Matt. xviii. 7. Luke, xxiv. 26. John, vi. 37.

† Bishop Mann and Hammond, and Cooper's Four Hundred Texts explained. See Wetstein's Note. Raphesus. Le Clerc, and Parkhurst's Lexicon.

admonition addressed to my readers of the gentler sex. The society of London is infested with certain conceited sciolists, who having no solid foundation of knowledge, and being wholly unacquainted with literature, inflict on female companies the retail of Institution lectures, or the smatterings of German philosophy. Among these may be classed the higher order of music and language masters, and nearly all continental strangers. With these coxcombs, materialism is a favourite topic; and a woman, desirous of knowledge, but not well strengthened in mind, is but too apt to lend an ear to proselytizing attempts, which convey an implied compliment to her understanding. But let the foregoing strictures warn her what it is she is yielding up, in harbouring principles which her inexperience may, perhaps, have deemed to be only inconsequential points in philosophical speculation. Let her remember that materialism animalizes the fine essence of the soul, checks its pure aspiring, and degrades its high superiorities; that it cuts off imagination and faith from every refined enjoyment arising from the intercourse of meditation with departed friends, with guardian angels, and with the invisible world; and, above all, that, by destroying moral agency, it lays the breast open to the designs of unprincipled libertinism, whose doctrine of neces-

sity, at least, shakes the first outwork which fences the citadel of virtue.

Upon the whole, Socinianism is a mere shadow of Christianity; and as the Socinian denies the Saviour as an atonement for sin, it may be doubted whether he properly merits the denomination of Christian. Kett, the historcal interpreter of prophecy, in order to make sure of something by grasping at every thing, makes Antichrist a triple power, comprising Popery, Mahometanism, and infidelity. But to the definition*, "he is Antichrist, who denieth the Father and the Son," the Socinian would seem to correspond: as in the etymology of the word Antichrist, his principles are plainly exposed †. All other Christians receive Christ as a sacrifice. All other Christians conceiving Scripture to be the word of God and the voice of truth, subject their reason to its dictates, in points which transcend their comprehension. The Socinian alone, places his reason above Scripture, and brings the word of God to the bar of his pride. We perceive in him a constant attempt to reject all mystery and miracle: to possess a creed without

* 1 John, ii. 22.

† Prideaux asked, in 1650, whether Socinianism and slighting of all antiquity be not an introduction to Paganism and Atheism? Hist. Introduc. p. 155

any thing preternatural: and hence his Christianity is little better than Deism. It is a cold, proud, heartless, ungenerous, nibbling, quibbling, comfortless religion; niggardly, unsocial, contemptible, inimical to the divine intercourse of meditation, and to the pious breathings and sweet consolations of prayer; opposing the destiny of necessity to the agency of a particular providence accessible to the cry of supplication; degrading and despiritualizing the soul of man; casting a sneer of derision on the confidence of faith; and quenching the flame of devotion in the ice of metaphysics: without a Saviour to cling to, or a Spirit on which to rest; without the generous and tender sentiments and services of gratitude for the gift of redemption, and of humility springing from full belief in a needful Saviour. It contains not fervour sufficient to accumulate many assembling worshippers, though it may win its way among speculative libertines and heartless sophists, who profess no form and join with no congregation. "Your religion," said the amiable Bishop Horne to Priestley, "resembles the bill of the Scots landlord mentioned by Dr. Johnson, in which the negative catalogue of provisions was very copious." You pretend, indeed, to have every thing essential; but when one descends into particular inquiries, you have no Redeemer, no Holy Ghost, no tempter, no spiritual soul;

till at length, on our coming to the question, What have ye? you reply, like the worthy Highlander, "Troth, Sir, we have very little." "You are not an Atheist," said my excellent young friend, Miss Strafford, to a cockney infidel who was pestering her with his metaphysics: "You are not a Deist, and that is some comfort; but I should like to know, what it is you style yourself."—"I am an Unitarian, Madam; and that is what I earnestly wish that you should be."—"You may truly call yourself an Unit-arian, for an unit is next to nothing*."

* The Unitarians disdain not to gain a point by a quibble. Mr. Belsham, in answering an orthodox work, copied the title-page specifying its dedication to the Prince Regent; but Bishop Burgess detected the insertion of a full period, before this notice of dedication, making the Regent the patron of Mr. Belsham's Reply.

The very name of Unitarianism, which has superseded the repulsive appellation of Socinianism, introduces that creed under the mask of the less objectionable principles of Arius; nay, slides it as truth upon incautious worshippers, who believe rightly in one God: while it casts a reflection on the Church, as though she actually believed in three.

The Unitarians are ashamed of their own principles. Some years ago the chapel in Essex Street was repaired and enlarged, and the new front having been furnished with two doors, one leading to the chapel, and the other to Mr. Belsham's house; on the former were painted the distinctive words, The Chapel. It was then submitted by the architect, that the old inscription, Essex Street Chapel, on the architrave, signified nothing; and that a title, announcing the character of the worship, would be far more appropriate. The suggestion was ap-

XI. 1774.—In the settlement of the civil and religious constitution of Quebec, the Roman Catholics were so greatly favoured, that the limits of toleration were said to have been transgressed, and the principles of the English constitution violated, by an establishment of the Romish religion. To this bill was added another in the year 1791, allotting a large district of land in both Canadas, for the support of a Protestant clergy.

In the mean time, the spirit of toleration, unmoved by clamour, pursued its gentle but prudent purpose; for, in 1778, Parliament repealed, in favour of the Catholics, certain penalties and disabilities imposed by an act of the 10th and 11th of William III. bearing the title of “An Act for preventing the Growth of Popery.” These hardships consisted in the punishment of Popish priests who should officiate; the prohibition of purchases made by Papists; and the seizure of the Popish father’s estate by the Protestant son. This indulgence, however, was wisely guarded by the demand of an oath, to be taken as a reasonable test, by the parties who were to be benefited by it.

proved of by Mr. Belsham’s assistant, and “Unitarian Chapel” was soon conspicuous on the front. But instantly on its appearance, two thirds of the congregation threatened to resign their pews. Mr. Belsham came to town, and the obnoxious inscription gave place to the ancient title.

XII. It was natural that Protestant Dissenters should prefer claims to a participation of those concessions so liberally made to the Roman Catholics. Accordingly, in 1779, many disabilities were removed from their ministers and schoolmasters; who were required only to take the customary oaths to Government, and to subscribe a declaration, couched in general terms, that they are Christians and Protestants, believing the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as commonly received among reformed churches, and acknowledging them as the rule of their doctrine and practice, and as the revealed will of God.

XIII. Thus, a mild and liberal government proceeded in extending indulgences, so far as reason warranted, to all whose sentiments varied from those of the established faith. But, while meditating a grant of similar concessions to the Roman Catholics of Scotland, their intentions were defeated by the outcry and insurrection of a bigoted and infuriate mob.

The first association, pretending to support the Protestant religion, consisted of a miserable handful of thirteen clerks, or other persons exercising mean trades, headed by a merchant, a goldsmith, and the teacher of an hospital. By so trifling a spark is a conflagration kindled. By this despicable club was excited a spirit of outrage which treated with severity the persons and property of several Roman Catholics in

Edinburgh and Glasgow, and in other parts of Scotland. At the same juncture, a small society, equally contemptible, was formed in London, composed of obscure men, corresponding with the Edinburgh council, and arrogating to themselves the pompous title of the "Protestant Association for guarding the Interests of Religion."

XIV. These elements of insurrection required only a hand sufficiently able or daring to raise them into flame; and, where mischief is the object, enthusiasm supplies the place of ability. Lord George Gordon, a madman and a fanatic, assembled forty thousand persons in St. George's Fields, under pretence of petitioning Parliament for the repeal of those acts recently passed in favour of the Roman Catholics. This nobleman possessed so little pretension in point of morals, to lead a body of religious complainants, that his excess of dissipation drew forth from his friend and fellow-libertine Wilkes, the sarcastic reflection, "*Nulla meretrix displicuit, præter Babylonicam.*"

The infuriated populace, wearing blue cockades, inscribed with the watchword "No Popery!" advanced in four divisions to the House of Commons. Three of these bodies passed over the three bridges, and the Scots Presbyterians covered the rear. Lord George, the demon of the storm, frequently issued forth from the

House, where he sate as a senator, and urged the rabble to persevere in insisting upon their demands. His frantic violence received some check from General Murray; who threatened, if the mob should advance further, to plunge his sword into the nobleman's bosom. The petition, on being presented, was rejected by a majority of 192 to 6. A mob once raised is not easily quelled or dispersed: they seldom restrain themselves to those objects, legitimate or specious, under pretence of which they were collected: nor can all the real or affected patriotism or moderation of their demagogues, prevent their rushing into the wildest excesses. In the evening, the four divisions coalescing, burnt the Romish chapels belonging to the Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors. Continuing their devastation, they were joined by other plunderers: the ball of mischief increased as it rolled along; and lawless atrocity leaguings itself with religious frenzy, the devastation became more wide-spread and destructive. Under pretence of liberating several rioters who had been committed to Newgate, that prison was consigned to the flames. The King's Bench, the New Compter, the Fleet, the toll-houses on Blackfriars Bridge, Langdale's distillery in Holborn, the houses of many Catholics, and of persons suspected of favouring them, were all wrapt at once in conflagration; and among the suf-

ferers, Sir George Saville, and the venerable Earl of Mansfield, whose liberality of sentiment had marked him out to the vengeance of the fanatics, sustained severe losses.

Thirty-six fires blazing at one time, and in different parts of the metropolis, presented a dreadful evidence of popular fury. Anxiety and uncertainty respecting the extent of the danger, augmented the alarm of sober citizens: while, during the whole night, the tremendous outcries of the authors of these horrible scenes, blended with the dreadful reports of soldiers' muskets, firing in platoons, excited the gloomiest bodings: and it appeared that the reign of anarchy and of universal desolation had arrived. Many of the rioters lost their lives, by the fire of the soldiery, drunkenness at the distilleries, or by the sentence of the law: and it was with extreme difficulty, that Lord George Gordon, who had acted so weak and wicked a part in these outrages, escaped.

The cry of "No Popery!" employed as a watchword on this occasion, was, with the great body, a pretence for tumult and plunder: for (to use the words of Lord Loughborough), "what concern had dislike to the Catholic religion with assailing the magistrates, releasing felons, destroying the source of public credit, and laying in ashes the capital of the Protestant faith?"

Two years before, when the act so obnoxious to this mob had passed, it had excited few fears and no tumults: for it sanctioned no principles inimical to the security of the Protestant faith; but merely removed some penalties, enacted in times of greater danger, or less tolerant legislation; and by the change of circumstances became unnecessary and oppressive. When the tumults were suppressed, the House of Commons framed several resolutions, tending to allay the apprehensions of well-meaning, but unwise alarmists, by assuring them that the bill in question did not authorize the imagined danger; and that they might rely on the unremitting attention of their representatives, in watching over the Protestant religion. In confirmation of this assurance, the House of Lords directed an inquiry to be made into the number of Papists in England and Wales: which evinced that the increase since the former census, in 1767, was not greater than might have been expected from the general advance of population*.

XV. It is incidental to the blindness or fatuity of man, to search for grounds of alarm amongst matters the most harmless; while objects of real apprehension are overlooked, or perhaps encouraged. At this time the religious principles

* Number of Papists in 1767, 67,916.

————— 1780, 69,317.

and morals of our countrymen were vitiated by the publications of a class of authors, whose subjects seemed foreign to such perversion, or rather auspicious to salutary instruction. Chesterfield introduced a system of superficiality and simulation, equally calculated to check the solid acquirements of the mind, and the genuine sincerity of the heart. This nobleman has been elegantly characterized in the lectures of Professor Stewart, as having built a temple to the Graces on the ruins of that of Virtue. The sneering irony of Hume, and the insinuating infidelity of Gibbon, were equally detrimental to the interests of Christianity. From this period, Infidelity, whose open visage was now too disgusting, began to mask her deformity, and appeared in the unsuspected form of biography or history, philosophical or moral disquisitions, dramas, romances, or metaphysical Christianity. Of this last insidious assailment, a specimen was afforded in Dr. Priestley's *Disquisitions* relating to Matter and Spirit; which attempted to introduce into Christianity the doctrines of materialism, with its corollary of philosophical necessity. We have, at great length, expounded and replied to these principles, in our *disquisition on the Socinian heresy*.

XVI. The Sabbath, that blessed day of rest, religious meditation, and united worship, peculiar to revealed religion, was now daringly pro-

faned by the opening of private subscription-rooms, under the name of promenades; musical parties, ill disguised by the mock title of sacred concerts; and debating societies, for the discussion of subjects dangerous to civil and religious order. These were the first fruits of infidel and licentious publications, which took base refuge under the freedom of the press. The next consequence was, a prevalent dissoluteness of morals; which drew forth an address to His Majesty, from the clergy of the province of Canterbury, November 1780; and a law was enacted the following year, denouncing heavy penalties against those, who within the cities of London and Westminster should open a house on the Lord's Day, for public entertainment or debate.

XVII. This laudable endeavour to counteract the profanation of the Sabbath, was reinforced in a few years, 1784, by a plan, which originally contemplated little more than the same object; but has since proved essentially and extensively advantageous to the general principles and habits of the inferior classes.

The name of Mr. Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, will descend with veneration to posterity, as the original projector of SUNDAY SCHOOLS. The plan was immediately adopted in every part of the country; insomuch that the year following, Dr. Horne was enabled to state in a

discourse, that 100,000 pupils were then in training, under the new establishment.

A vain difference of opinion has prevailed amongst politicians, as to the propriety of instructing the lower classes in reading; an argument which might be cut short, by referring to two palpable examples before our eyes: Scotland, with a peasantry, educated, religious, and decent; and Ireland, whose boors are ignorant, savage, and ever disposed to wild outrage. But in whatever manner this question is determined, it ought to have no influence in diminishing our full approbation of schools for Sabbath instruction and discipline. In fact, so cheap is education, and so comfortable, in most parts of this country, is the condition of the industrious poor, that there are few *decent* parents who procure not some instruction for their offspring, in common schools, at their own expense. Now, it is well known to those at all acquainted with Sabbath institutions, that the pupils are chiefly the children of such decent parents: profligate wives, who bestow no weekly education on their offspring, being either indifferent about Sabbath instruction, or unable to clothe their families with the neatness required of the pupils. Few children, in short, are upon the lists in Sunday schools, who have not elsewhere received some instruction in reading. Were it otherwise, indeed, little advantage could be de-

rived from such seminaries, in point of mere reading. For what could be the progress of a child in fifty days of a year, when, if carried to church, as he ought to be, and usually is, twice every Lord's Day, he cannot be in school any Sabbath above two hours; and even during these learns little, by reason of that multiplicity of scholars, and that paucity or incapacity of teachers, which arise from the economical plan usually expedient: nay, when what he does learn, he would, without subsidiary education, forget between one Sunday's lesson and another? With respect, then, to the pupils frequenting Sunday schools, the ability to read, whether an advantage or an evil, is already given; to Sunday schools, therefore, thus far belongs neither the praise nor the blame. But we affirm, that such institutions deserve unqualified praise and unbounded encouragement; because, if ability to read be an advantage, they promote and secure that advantage; if an evil, it not only exists independently of them, but they tend to mitigate and counteract it. Their use, under this latter supposition, will be to check any pernicious tendency, which an ability to read, and an improved capacity, unaccompanied by religious principles, might impart; and to give that instruction, which the pupil has acquired in other quarters, a bent and direction towards heaven. Admitting instruction to be

a two-edged weapon, must we not support that institution which hacks and blunts the destructive edge, while it sharpens that which is to strike for religion, and for all the virtues which it generates?

A Sunday school is a seminary of decent deportment, of pious habits, and of training for the world to come; and in this respect it differs from all other academies. It is designed to furnish forth that species of instruction, which no money can procure in any weekly establishment. Professing less to make scholars than Christians, it is a seminary where pupils are taught to know their Creator and Preserver, their Redeemer and Sanctifier; to pray, to reverence the Sabbath, to regulate their lives in respect to an invisible eye, and to carry their hopes and fears beyond the limits of this brief existence. Here, in approving themselves to visitors, their superiors, who smile on moral worth more than on intellectual quickness, they at once imbibe habits of respectful subordination, and learn the due preference of principle to talent. This auxiliary temple habituates its young votaries to the inside of a church; nor is it of trivial moment to add, of the Established Church.

Ann Knowles, a Sunday scholar of Ormskirk, had in 1802, attended the parish church, without a single absence, twice every Sunday, for the space of fourteen years. Must not this

person have acquired habits, more advantageous to herself and the community, than the gifts which are usually termed education; the possession of all mysteries and all languages?

Another interesting anecdote may serve to illustrate the preceding observations. The celebrated Mrs. Hamilton confessed to the writer of these strictures, that she had at first been adverse to Sunday schools, on the ground of the little time afforded for any useful instruction. At length, meeting a boy, with a Bible under his arm, one Sunday morning, in her walk near Birmingham, "What do you learn," she demanded, "at the Sunday school in so short an attendance, my little fellow?" — "I learn a great deal," replied the simple youth: "I learn not to swear, and not to beat my donkey." Mrs. Hamilton was ever afterwards a warm friend to these establishments.

XVIII. Sunday schools, however, require the continual attendance of parish ministers, or of other philanthropists amongst the higher and more intelligent orders, well affected to the cause of orthodoxy, and to the establishment in Church and State. If not thus superintended, they are in danger of falling into the hands of enthusiastic, seditious, infidel, or libertine guides, who may creep in unawares with their respective purposes, and poison this fountain of good. The introduction of enthusiasts is the more jea-

lously to be guarded against, as they are very frequently characters of great worth and good intention, the immediate effect of whose labours may be considerably beneficial, whilst the remote tendency is to produce a far greater sum of positive evil. This question was agitated some time ago, in what was termed the Blagdon controversy. The excellent Mrs. More, with those benevolent intentions, which in most other instances were under the guidance of sound judgment, introduced a teacher to the school of Blagdon, whom the curate, in absence of the rector, considered it as his duty to remove. For this interposition, on Mrs. Hannah More's complaint, he was deprived of his situation by his principal. The conscientious sufferer, with more religious discretion than worldly prudence, deserves respectful mention as a confessor in the cause of orthodoxy. The rector seems to have acted weakly; and the lady's zeal to have been persecuting. But this provincial occurrence derives importance from illustrating the exertions of that body within the Church, who give their right hand to the Dissenters, and their left to the Establishment.

XIX. The Methodists, with an insidious show of liberality, have opened Sunday schools in the different large towns, which they term "Schools for children of all denominations;" the plain English of which is, "the schools

where children of all denominations are received, and all made Methodists*."

* When curate of Warrington, during the early part of my ministry, in the year 1804, I paid a visit to London, with the express view of examining the various charitable institutions and places of education for the poor, as well sectarian as belonging to the Establishment; hoping to collect many useful hints for application within my own particular province: and a very interesting and edifying tour it was. It happened one Sunday, after morning service, that I strolled into the Sunday school attached to Rowland Hill's Chapel. I found it conducted with many judicious regulations, and on entering into conversation with one of the teachers, I was referred by him to a meeting of the teachers, of what he termed the Sunday School Union, to be held the week after, in a house in Bartlett's Buildings, and professing to comprise members of the Church, and Dissenters of all serious descriptions. Here he promised to introduce me; and my curiosity was not willing to drop the thread of the adventure. It will, perhaps, not be thought delicate to reveal all the secrets of a prison-house, into which I was rather surreptitiously smuggled. I will just, therefore, observe, as a churchman, who had a fair right to be there by the prospectus and character of the Union, that the Establishment and all its forms were treated with very little ceremony. As to the Church catechism, it was termed a mere humdrum: and any thing capable of being executed with peculiar facility; "Pooh! something which Rowland Hill's reader could do." The members seemed all to be pretty well aware, that their invitation and name of union would bring them into open co-operation with no member of the Establishment, who would take offence on hearing it quizzed, or hesitate to betray its interest; and they talked with perfect sang froid of working their way quietly; in words which I well knew how to construe. Strange that Churchmen should still be drivellers enough to talk of a canting liberality to sects who

XX. Amongst the writers uniting zeal with sound judgment, whose labours have promoted the interests of Sunday schools attached to the Establishment, we must mention with respect and gratitude the name of Mrs Trimmer; whose various works, entitled, "The Sunday-school Catechist," "The Expositions of the Catechism and Liturgy," and "The Help to the Unlearned in reading the Holy Scriptures," have been found highly useful in such institutions. This amiable and judicious lady, perhaps the best friend that the Church Establishment, sound Christianity, and the interests of the lower classes ever had, sustained an unmanly attack from the "Swift" of a celebrated Review; whose flip-pant style was too well known to veil the author from being recognised. But with every respect for the high talent of the Northern judicature, and for the art and abilities of this particular writer, it is but justice to the memory of a lady — "of respectable intentions, and very ordinary qualifications; who defended what is holy without zeal, and believed what is true without charity," — to record her name as that of one who has done more good in her generation than all the writers who ever dealt forth smiles exercise no liberality in return; nay, who make each concession of spurious fraternity, a new lever-purchase for further encroachments. Give them but ground to stand on, and, like Archimedes, they will move the world.

and censures from their thrones of clouds and darkness.

The Madras system having been now introduced into most large Sunday schools throughout England, its publications have nearly superseded other school-books. Yet, as many parts of its mechanism are unsuited to smaller and private institutions, I may state, without the imputation of a vain or mercenary motive, that "The Manual of religious Knowledge" is a book much in use, and greatly commended for its rules for the organization and conduct of a Sabbath school; not less than for its practical expositions of the Liturgy and Catechism, of the festivals and doctrines of the Church; and for its scriptural history, and compressed evidences of Christianity.

XXI. So long as the American provinces continued under the jurisdiction of Great Britain, they were shy in regard to the introduction of episcopacy from England. But no sooner was their independence proclaimed at the peace of 1783, than they spontaneously demanded what they would not receive by compulsion. Accordingly, three years afterwards, the British Parliament empowered the Archbishop of Canterbury or York for the time being, to consecrate to the office of bishops, persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of His Majesty's dominions. The American

bishops, previous to this period, had necessarily received consecration from the nonjuring bishops of Scotland *. The English Liturgy had been revived and altered in 1689, by Bishops Patrick, Burnet, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Kidder, and Tennison, acting under a commission for that purpose: but the designs of the commission at that time miscarried, and it has never since been resumed. The failure of this reform is not much to be lamented. The alterations could not improve the general structure or style; and they touched no point of faith, doctrine, or even discipline; but were confined to such turns of phraseology and modes of arrangement as time appeared to have rendered obsolete or uncouth. The modification of the English Liturgy was, however, adopted by the Protestant Episcopal church of North America, at a convention of delegates from the churches in the several States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, held at Philadelphia in 1785.

The bishops of New York and Philadelphia were consecrated at Lambeth, by the English primate, on the 4th day of February 1787.

XXII. A new attempt made in the same year to repeal the Corporation and Test Acts, was, like all the former, abortive. Immediately

* Brewster's Secular Essay.

after its failure, many expectants of a more favourable issue, looking with anxiety to the incipient struggles of France, to obtain a freedom which she has proved herself incapable of using with moderation, promised themselves the eventual accomplishment of their purpose by means less constitutional. "The silent propagation of truth," said Dr. Priestley, in a letter to Mr. Pitt, "will, in the end, prove efficacious. We are wisely placing, as it were, grain by grain, a train of gunpowder, to which a match will one day be laid, to blow up the fabric of error, which shall never again be raised upon the same foundation."

XXIII.—1787. The King's former proclamation for preventing the profanation of the Sabbath, was republished in an amplified state. It now took cognizance of playing, on the Lord's day, at dice or cards, and opening coffee-houses during divine service; while it likewise denounced excessive drinking, swearing, lewdness, disorderly abodes, blasphemy, licentious books, and obscene prints.

XXIV. The Quakers petitioned Parliament, in 1783, requesting an extinction of the traffic in human flesh; and thus originally directed public attention to that subject.

In 1788, the abolition of the slave-trade was first formally proposed in Parliament; a humane and just measure, which, after a struggle of

eighteen years, has at length, through the perseverance of one inflexible and upright philanthropist, Mr. Wilberforce, happily triumphed over avarice and clamour; and removed from Great Britain the stain of a crime, which the multitude of perpetrators rather aggravated than justified, and which justly provoked Providence to pour out on us the vials of its wrath.

XXV. It was not without reason that Englishmen assembled to consecrate the centenary of the glorious Revolution of 1688; as it recorded an event which established our civil and religious liberties. But, while the nation was rejoicing on account of these blessings, obtained under the auspices of the House of Brunswick, the head of that house was attacked by a disorder, which sunk in dejection the gladness of every countenance. The illness of His Majesty ought not to be omitted in the history of the Established Church, and of the different sects which have branched from it; because all differences of sentiment seemed for a season absorbed in the general wish for the preservation of that mild, yet firm supporter of the Protestant faith, in the leading features of which they all professed to agree. Even in foreign countries, his illness excited national sympathy; and a petition for his recovery was inserted in the devotional service. Not only as the head of the Protestant interest in Europe, but by reason of

his private virtues, did the churches in Holland entreat God to spare his life, for the welfare of his own dominions, of the United Provinces, and in general of the Protestant religion.

This was not the voice of flattery, nor of falsehood. It is with pleasure that we revert to his sentiments and declarations at distant periods; and observe, that the firm conduct of George III. did not swerve from conformity with them, during the whole course of a reign, which the mercy of God protracted beyond the usual tenure of sovereigns. "I shall continue," said he, to the House of Convocation, in 1780, "to support the interests of our holy religion, upon the principles of the Reformation, against the encroachments of licentiousness and superstition." When long experience set its final seal to the sincerity of these expressions, ought not every one, now that the lips which uttered them are silenced in death, to hallow his memory, though we can no longer act in his service; by inscribing on his tomb, the declaration of Lord Thurlow, "When I forget my King, may God forget me!"

The King's recovery, early in 1789, can be considered in no other light than as a particular interposition of Providence: since the continued indisposition of him who wore the crown, and exhibited so bright an example of domestic piety, might have withdrawn, within these realms, the most powerful antidote and coun-

teraction to the contagious influence of the French revolution.

True to the leading principle of his soul, no sooner did he receive the boon of health, than "he returned to give glory to God." And it was an impressive spectacle, on the day of public thanksgiving in April, to behold the sovereign, amidst his nobles, commons, and chief officers, prostrating himself in the cathedral church of St. Paul, before that invisible Superior in whose hand are the issues of life.

XXVI.—1790. The spirit of alarm having been roused by the echoes of the tocsin, innovation was regarded with increased jealousy; and hence it is no wonder that a new effort to repeal the Corporation and Test Acts should follow the fate of its predecessors.

Mr. Pitt, on this occasion, warned the House to beware of relinquishing a strong bulwark of the Church, which must always be affected by any danger that threatened the State. "If toleration," he observed, "be extended to equality, there is an end at once to the wise policy of prevention, and a door opened to the ruin of the constitution."

XXVII. Great lenity was shown, however, towards a body of the Catholics, since distinguished by the singular name of Roman Catholic Dissenters. A declaration and protestation was issued by this body; followed by a petition to

Parliament, in which they prayed for relief*. "Whereas sentiments," they state, "unfavourable to us as citizens and subjects, have been entertained, by English Protestants, on account of principles which have been asserted to be maintained by us and other Catholics, and which principles are dangerous to society, and totally repugnant to civil and political liberty; it is a duty which we the English Catholics owe to our country as well as ourselves, to protest in a formal and solemn manner against doctrines which constitute no part whatever of our principles, religion, or belief." The particular articles protested against are these, "That princes excommunicated by the Pope may be murdered or deposed by their subjects. 2. That implicit obedience is due to the Pope. 3. That the Pope can dispense with the obligation of compacts or oaths. 4. That not only the Pope, but even Catholic priests have power to pardon sins. 5. That faith is not to be kept with heretics."

The petition was graciously answered by a bill, 1791, to remove from such Roman Catholics as shall take the oath and make the declaration therein appointed, a variety of penalties, and to admit them to such privileges as are mentioned in the said act.

XXVIII. It comports not with the nature

* Brewster's Secular Essay. See Gentleman's Magazine for 1792, p. 119, for a catalogue of thirty-one Tracts on this subject.

and character of this work, or with the simplicity we have hitherto observed, to launch forth in general declamation on the horrors, to analyze the causes, or to enumerate the dismal effects, of the French Revolution. It is certain that many persons of great worth and principle, misled by imposing names and flattering appearances, hailed, in an honest heart, the first efforts of emancipation made by the French, as what they sincerely thought the struggles of a moderate and rational love of liberty. These withdrew their approbation, and acknowledged themselves to have been deceived, when the excesses and atrocities, the anarchy and infidelity which followed, developed the real character and pernicious views of the actors in that horrid tragedy, and removed the specious colouring with which they had attempted to conceal their deformity. Others were, in this country, actuated by malignant designs, who rejoiced at the advancement and completion of civil and religious disorder in France, hoping that the same overthrow of church and state would speedily follow in their own country; and that the desperate might pick up something in the scramble. But while England, in addition to the public foe abroad, contained many domestic traitors ready to co-operate with him, or, at least, to imitate his example; the exertions of the clergy contributed much to check the march of infidelity through-

out the land, and to prevent the ferment which the demons of disaffection were labouring to excite. When the works of Paine and other licentious publications were hawked or scattered in cheap copies amongst the inferior classes, the clergy were assiduous in pointing out to their respective congregations the errors and frightful tendencies of such pernicious doctrines; and in circulating tracts in favour of religion and political order, as an antidote to the poison administered by the revolutionists.

XXIX. The favour shown to the Catholics emboldened the Protestant Dissenters to make a new exertion for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts; and they artfully identified the cause of the Catholics with their own, in the hope of thus securing the success of their application. But if such an attempt was regarded with jealousy in ordinary times, it was now, when subversive principles were abroad, deemed deserving of being resisted with unusual vigour. Earnest remonstrances of the clergy counteracted the unremitted industry of a body whose political sentiments were justly the objects of suspicion. Indeed, several among their own fraternity (if fraternity that association might be deemed, where the High Calvinist united with the Paulo-super-deist Socinian; if shape it might be called, which shape had none) confessed that religious liberty was only the first

step which many contemplated in their march to the accomplishment of the boldest views. The danger was perceived by the House of Commons; and, although the majority on the preceding occasion had been trifling, it now appeared sufficiently large to damp the hopes of the petitioners*.

Candour, however, compels us to record, that many sober and well-principled Dissenters blamed the intemperate manner in which others urged their claims; assuring the public, in an address, that certain among their brethren used expressions and entertained errors entirely disapproved by the general body of Dissenters.

XXX. The old Protestant Dissenters are a threefold body, comprising the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists; and though these bodies are at all times characterized, we believe, by a leaning to politics in opposition to government, they are sincere in their religious professions, and seek not a liberty which is a cloak for licentiousness. But under the name of Dissenters were now classed a heterogeneous mul-

* The following table shows the numbers of those who voted at different periods on the question:

In 1736, For the repeal, 123; Against it, 251.

1739, 89; 188.

1787, 100; 178.

1789, 102; 122.

1790, 105; 294.

titude, not recognised as branches of the old Dissenting stock. The loose principles of General Baptists interdicted communion with their brethren the Particulars; and the term Presbyterian designated not merely the Scottish Calvinists, or friends of a synodical government, but the Arian metaphysician and the Socinian Demi-deist.

Thus the principles of Watts, Doddridge, and Orton, were still in many congregations preserved; but in others was evinced a wide departure from those articles of faith which are regarded as essential to a Christian society. Mr. Clayton, a Dissenting minister, affirmed in the preface to a sermon entitled, "The Duty of Christians to Magistrates," 1791, that many of his brethren in the ministry condemn the theological and political sentiments advanced by some who (by a patent of their own creation) style themselves rational Dissenters. Were it not for these, in fact, indulgence might, perhaps, be extended to Dissenters of the old school; but a door is wisely shut, which, if opened, would admit a rabble.

XXXI. The sentiments of those Dissenting writers who were thus abjured by their more reputable brethren, escaped not the severe censure of many learned opponents: in particular, Dr. Price's celebrated Sermon on the Anniversary of the Revolution of 1688, elicited

the argumentative and eloquent pamphlet of Edmund Burke, entitled, "Reflections on the French Revolution." The assertion of the preacher, that the crown of Britain was elective, was exposed by his antagonist, who demonstrated, that when, in some extreme case, the monarchy was abdicated and left vacant, resort was had, as nearly as possible, to the fundamental principle of hereditary succession. Dr. Price, in speaking with exultation of the events which characterize the commencement of the French excesses, and chiefly of the procession of that infuriate mob who led their captive King in triumph, had dared to express his feelings in the venerable language of Simeon, on the presentation of the infant Saviour in the Temple: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace:" a near approach to blasphemy, which Mr. Burke has justly reprobated.

XXXII. "The Rights of Man," Part I. was published by Thomas Paine, of horrible notoriety, as an answer to Mr. Burke's pamphlet. Many able replies have evinced the political principles broached in this incendiary publication to be false: yet, at the time of its appearance, it excited an apprehension in the breasts of all friends of order, lest the same evils should be repeated in this country which had so recently degraded the character and lacerated the bosom of France.

XXXIII. On the second anniversary of the erasure of the Bastile (14th July 1791), the English partisans of liberty assembled for a festive celebration of the event in various principal cities and towns of the kingdom. In the metropolis the day was spent in undisturbed conviviality. But a violent tumult arose in Birmingham, where animosities had long been brewing between the Churchmen and Dissenters. The difference and dislike, however, was more political than religious; or, so far as it was religious on the part of the Churchmen, it was directed mainly against the Unitarians, whose principles and provocations had, for a length of time, been highly offensive and exasperating. Certain injudicious loyalists had set fire to this train by raising the cry of Church and King; nor was it less imprudent in the friends of liberty to convene under such a state of public feeling. The company, however, to the number of eighty or ninety, enjoyed a temperate conviviality and dispersed at an early hour. But the infuriate mob, inflamed by violent handbills, and mingling their loyalty with a spirit of plunder and insurrection, gave loose to every kind of outrage and excess; of which both parties became the indiscriminate victims. The windows of the hotel were demolished; the houses and chapels of Dissenters set on fire. During the tumult the mansion of Dr. Priestley was

consumed; and that able philosopher, but insidious and unquiet theologian and politician, having lost his library and philosophical apparatus, expatriated himself, and took refuge in America, whence he never more returned. At length some troops of light dragoons were called in; and Birmingham, after having experienced, during three days, a specimen of the much desired mob-government, ceased to be the theatre of riot and devastation. Several of the rioters had lost their lives during the anarchy, and a few afterwards expiated their excesses at the gallows. Let not these outrages, however, be ascribed to religious intolerance. The visitation of odium and injury fell rather on disaffection than on heresy; and the opprobrium due to civil violence, will find some palliation among those who consider that it was probably actuated by a warmth of honest though ill-directed and furious zeal, willing to defend Great Britain from the remotest stirrings of the bloody demon of jacobinism.

XXXIV. Unitarianism, the most diluted hue of Christianity, was now, in truth, too much wedded to French principles, to be regarded merely as the doctrine of a religious sect. Hence we must not wonder at the cold reception sustained, in May 1792, by a motion for the repeal of certain penal statutes of the 9th and 10th of William III. whose immediate object was the

suppression of Unitarian principles. The intention of this blow, aimed at the Established Church, was to separate the Unitarian from the Presbyterian cause; to attract a special favour towards the system of Priestley and his adherents; and to give it prominence as a religious distinction. The scope of this demand for indulgence was detected; and the motion, like its predecessors, fell to the ground.

XXXV. The revolutionary systems of continental politicians having charms to captivate the inexperienced, and the bold proceedings in which they issued exciting emulation among the sanguine, enamoured with novelty, and the desperate, covetous of plunder, societies were organized in this country on the same principles which had subverted the throne of France. With pharisaical zeal they laboured to gain proselytes, whom they made not a whit better than themselves, in remote villages not less than in populous cities. The London Corresponding Society circulated every where cheap pamphlets impregnated with the poison of their principles; and of these the most obnoxious was the Second Part of "The Rights of Man," more inflammatory and dangerous than the former. Their mischievous exertions, together with the impiety and treason hatched in the spouting-clubs of the metropolis, drew forth a royal proclamation for the prevention of tumultuous

meetings and seditious writings, which appeared on the 21st of May, and produced a signal counteraction of the evil in the zeal of the loyal and the pious. These, stemming the torrent of sedition and infidelity, disseminated tracts well calculated to bring into suspicion and discredit the doctrines of spurious reformation. At the same time "The Rights of Man" was pronounced by a court of justice to be a libel.

XXXVI. Thus opposing with firmness the revolutionary spirit on the one hand, England was on the other extending relief to its victims. France had now waded deep in horrors: Dupont's declaration that he was an Atheist, had been received with loud applauses by the Convention; and the dreadful sentence, "Death is an eternal sleep," had been inscribed on the closed churches. It was natural, then, that the ministers of a religion pronounced fabulous, should be proscribed as supernumerary, and persecuted as hateful. A ship, perforated at the bottom, and fraught with these unhappy men, was sent out to sea and deliberately sunk. The French clergy, spoiled of their subsistence, and shunning such murderous treachery, abandoned their native land, and found an asylum in this country. And when England thus received the ministers of Catholicism into her bosom, she gave honourable evidence, that in

resisting the political claims of Catholicism, she was impelled by no spirit of intolerance.

XXXVII. But dread of the Catholic encroachments was, at this time, merged in apprehensions of the more formidable enemies of all religions. The London Corresponding Society, whose original and main object had been political reform or revolution, proceeded to finish the education of its pupils, by adding Deism to democracy. This object was promoted by the "First Part of the Age of Reason," published in France by Thomas Paine in 1793: a wretched publication, replete with impudence, ignorance, scurrility, and blasphemy; in which all the ten-times told and confuted objections to Revelation were raked out of the writings of the older Deists, and issued in coarse and vulgar language, indecently familiar, and more shocking than pen had ever dared to indite. The ostensible object of this work was the establishment of Deism; and it asserted, as the ground of the argument, that the visible book of nature is the only book of revelation. But all this was only a specious colouring; and the tenour of the argument, and style of the language, make it pretty plain, that the writer cared little what became of Deism, provided Christianity could be overthrown. In a Second Part of "The Age of Reason," published in

1795, the Scriptures were assailed with increased ribaldry and in ampler detail; but the puny infidel was crushed beneath the giant grasp of Bishop Watson, whose "Apology for the Bible" fully exposes the superficiality, chastises the presumption, and confutes the arguments of his antagonist. The prelate, however, was too courteous to the pretender, whom he eulogized as a man of talents, and thus raised in the eyes of the multitude. Far different the mightier Bentley, who, not forgetful of argument, tortured Collins on the wheel of ridicule; and thus rendering him contemptible while he exposed his fallacies, destroyed his authority with the people, and broke their degraded demigod's heart*.

XXXVIII. It is not often that the honest and diligent researches of men after truth have terminated in the gloom of scepticism; but when this is the case, and the infidel mourns his infelicity in solitude, nor attempts to taint others with its contagion, our liveliest compassion is excited. Pride, however, more frequently disbelieves in the fancied triumph of intellect; licentiousness disbelieves, because it wishes a pure religion to be untrue. And as no honest man would willingly and deliberately bereave his brother of comfort; to beat up for

* Rise and Dissolution of infidel Societies in the Metropolis.
By W. Hamilton Reed. 1800.

converts to the miseries of despair, argues either pride or licentiousness as the principle of infidelity. But to associate for the cold-blooded purpose of extirpating Christianity, to poison the minds of the inferior classes by circulating irreligion in cheap tracts throughout the country, expressed the malignity of demons. Even the French Encyclopedists, whose watchword of communication was, "Crush the wretch," meaning the Saviour of the world, refrained from robbing the poor man of his last stay. This cruelty was reserved for the London Societies. A bookseller was prevailed on to undertake a cheap edition of "The Age of Reason," for its easier dissemination through the divisions into which the Jacobin fraternity was organized. Its blasphemous appellation was the New Holy Bible; and the circumstance of possessing this book in a house was at that time regarded as a test of the civism of the owner; nay, the new members admitted into the seditious societies were no longer to be sworn on any other book, since it was held as a mark of incivism to keep a Bible*.

This excess of profligate principle, however, enjoyed not the boast of unanimous suffrage. A schism took place in the London Corresponding Society; and a new association was formed

* Reed's Hist. of seditious Societies; and Second Report of the Committee of the House of Lords on these Societies, 1801.

by the dissenting members, under the denomination of the “Civil and Religious Society;” implying that the parent stock were any thing but religious. But that the religion of this new fraternity was little better than that of their former associates, appears from the recommendation to any of their offices, in which the candidate was designated “as a good democrat and a Deist;” and negatively as “no Christian*.”

Lest some among the inferior classes might not purchase, or peruse, or understand the disaffection and impiety printed for the perversion of their minds, the spouting clubs and forums of the metropolis were made engines for the more certain effectuation of that diabolical design, disguised as it was under the colour of illumination. These administered the poison with the poignant medication of debate; attractive by its lively sallies, its animated harangues, its biting attacks and keen replies, its pleasing variety of orators. The discussions were planned and conducted with the utmost artifice: the question turning, for the most

* Reed's Rise and Dissolution, &c. The Bishop of London declared his knowledge, that impious and indecent publications had been circulated in towns and villages, and even in the bowels of the earth, among the miners in Cornwall and the colliers of Newcastle, some of whom had sold their Bibles, to purchase the Age of Reason. — Bishop of London's Charge, 1799.

part, on some grave point in philosophy, or some lighter and more popular topic of literature, taste, manners, or chit-chat occurrence of the day: while the whole argument, and all the illustrations, were diverted, with singular adroitness, into the channel of religion and politics; and while it was so contrived, that the allied forces of loyalty and Christianity should make a slight, weak, ridiculous, scouted, and hissed stand, for a mere show of discussion, and then leave the field in entire possession of the monster with two heads — Jacobinism and Atheism. I recollect paying my sixpence, in 1796, for admission to one of these nocturnal orgies. The question related to the personality of the devil; and that being was buffeted about, to and fro, like a football, with much familiarity; pelted with jests, sneers, and sarcasms of every kind, and assailed or defended with an appearance of grave inquiry, of which the very solemnity was intended to be ridiculous. Happy might it, indeed, be for many of these gentry, should the object of their abuse and raillery prove the nonentity on which they presumed; but to me they appeared to be confutations of their own principles, for they were every one of them the devil's imps in disguise, and busied in doing his work. One gentleman commenced his speech with the tasteful antithesis:—"Mr. President, if I could obtain a glance of your eye, I have a word or

two which I would whisper in your ear :” and concluded by expressing a pious hope, that “the time was nigh at hand, when the trade of priestcraft should be abolished, and Mr. Burke and the Pope should sound the trump of resurrection in vain.” Another related one of Don Quevedo’s visions, in which he was conducted by the devil to the mouth of a certain pit in hell, and informed that he beheld the prison-house of kings. “Indeed!” said Quevedo, “there seem to be very few.”—“Pardonnez moi,” replied the devil; “I assure you, upon my honour, there are all that have ever reigned.”—“I have only to add, Mr. President, my most DEVOUT wish, that the empire of the devil may, in future, be confined to this one pit, and that his only subjects may be despots*.”

A detailed account of these infidel and seditious societies will be found in the work of Mr. Hamilton Reed. They were chiefly formed on the model of the London Corresponding Society; but the debating clubs had all the forms of a regular House of Commons. A speaker, with a leather apron; a ministry and opposition; and all, all honourable friends, or inge-

* In the midst of this scene, a Quaker, moved with indignation, uttered a deep groan; and on being complained of as hissing, replied that he did not hiss, he only groaned. “I will neither permit you,” said the pompous President, “to hiss nor to groan: the one betrays the malevolence of a serpent, the other is the effort of a bear.”

nious and learned citizens. It was the rabble in the Parliament of Pandemonium, legislating irreligion and disorder.

XXXIX. But not to leave any day unoccupied, or any means unemployed, in the vocation and apostleship of evil, a Temple of Reason was opened in the metropolis, in imitation of the fanes of Theophilanthropism at Paris, where the doctrines of Deism might be more conveniently promulgated, so as to meet the prejudices of those who were shocked and repelled by the ribaldry of the twopenny tracts, and the blasphemies of the forums; and to undermine Christianity under the show of religious gravity and decent worship. Such an institution might, at first, seem fraught with danger: inasmuch as there is no denying the truth of Deism, so far as it goes; and Theophilanthropism is the horn-book of Christianity. But its cold doctrines admitted not of impassioned communication; a Deist wants enthusiasm to unite in assembled devotion, and humility to prostrate himself in prayer; and the common people were either too profligate to care for any religion, or, being in love only with the plunder proposed by Jacobinism, were scandalized at a worship which condemned the Saviour of mankind. In vain did David Williams, the high priest of Theophilanthropism, adore the God of Nature, and present his wave-offering of the fruits of the earth. The specu-

lation would not take; the Temple of Reason was, with reason, locked up; those gates (they shall be nameless) were closed, which could not prevail against Christianity: and though in the following year, 1797, field-preaching Deists attempted to gather congregations, in imitation of their Methodist pre-occupants of the same ground, the latter, after a short season of novelty and curiosity, resumed their sovereignty over the lanes and cross-roads, over the Seven Dials and Primrose Hill, where they once more expatiated without a rival *.

XL. These malignant and active labours of infidelity, however, did not pass unnoticed or unrebuked. The Bishop of London, by his celebrated Lectures, preached during the Lent seasons of several successive years, arrested the gay and fashionable in the thoughtless career of dissipation, directed their attention to religious themes, and impressed on their minds a seriousness well suited to that epoch of uncertainty, and eclipse of truth. Miss Hannah More, by a plan of singular felicity, allured the inferior classes back to the path of principle, with narratives and ballads, resembling in form, title, and the frontispiece of wooden cuts, the pernicious tracts with which they had been decoyed: and if the value of a work is to be estimated by its benefi-

* A salary of 200*l.* was offered to any teacher who would open a Temple of Reason in a western port.

cial effects, her Cheap Repository, which in low price, external ornament, and adaptation to the capacities of the poor, possessed superior attractions to the infidel publications it was designed to counteract, will be remembered with not less honour than her various labours in a more elevated walk of literature.

Zeal and piety were now on the alert. The Bishops every where animated their clergy, in charges peculiarly earnest and interesting. Ecclesiastics, and even worthy laymen, employed their pens in defence of the orthodox faith. The press teemed with valuable books and tracts. Strict attention was paid to public charities; in particular, schools of Sabbath education were multiplied: at this time were founded those excellent establishments the Philanthropic, for educating the children of the convicted and the dissolute; and the Refuge for the Destitute, where the temptation to crime, presented by hunger, is removed. Females of the higher and middle classes condescended to undertake the instruction of the poor of their own sex; and the valuable Mrs. Trimmer, whose name we once more hail, wrote her "Economy of Charity" as their guide. Providence smiled on all these united labours, and England was saved from destruction.

D. Knodé.

Grant, Johnson

A summary of the history of the English Church, and of the sects which
have departed from its communion with answers to each dissenting body on
its pretended grounds of separation

Bd.: 3

London 1820

H.eccl. 454 h-3

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10024957-6